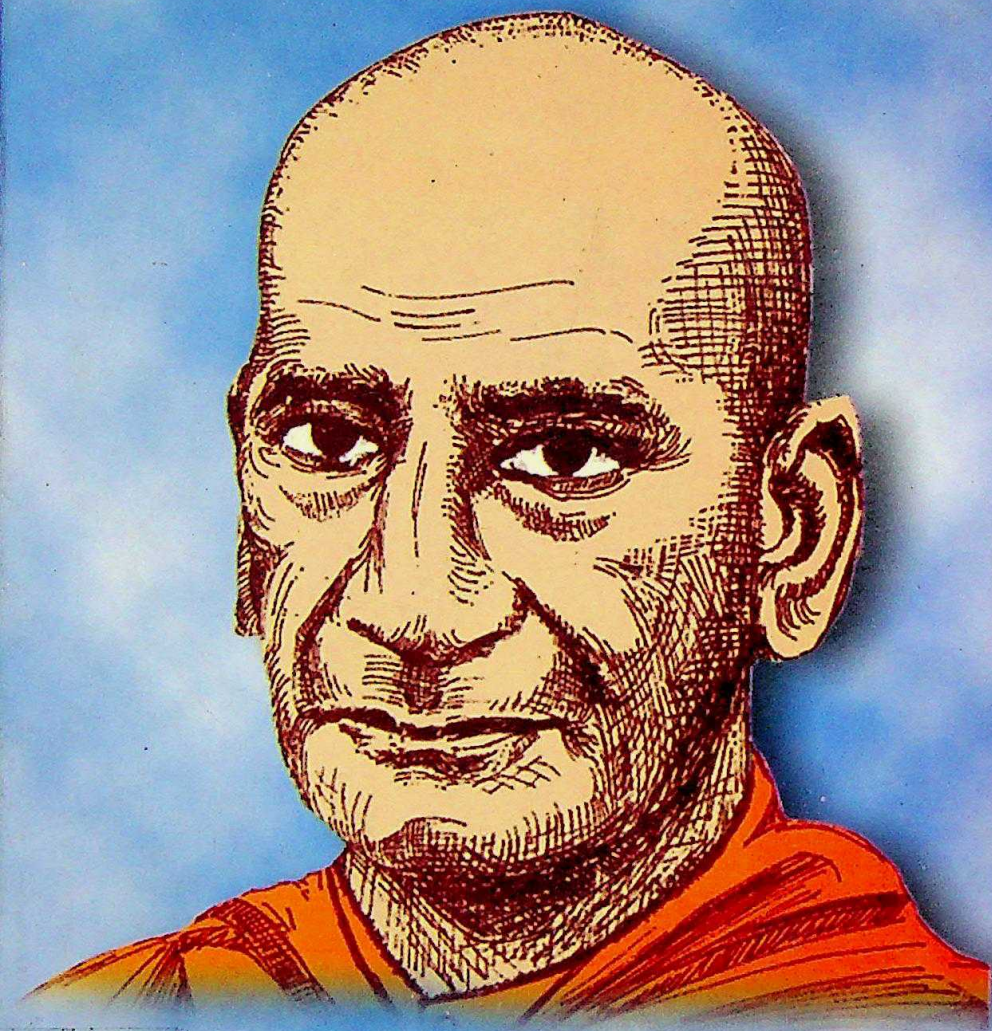


**emporary Socio-Political Observations
of
SWAMI SHRADDHANANDA**

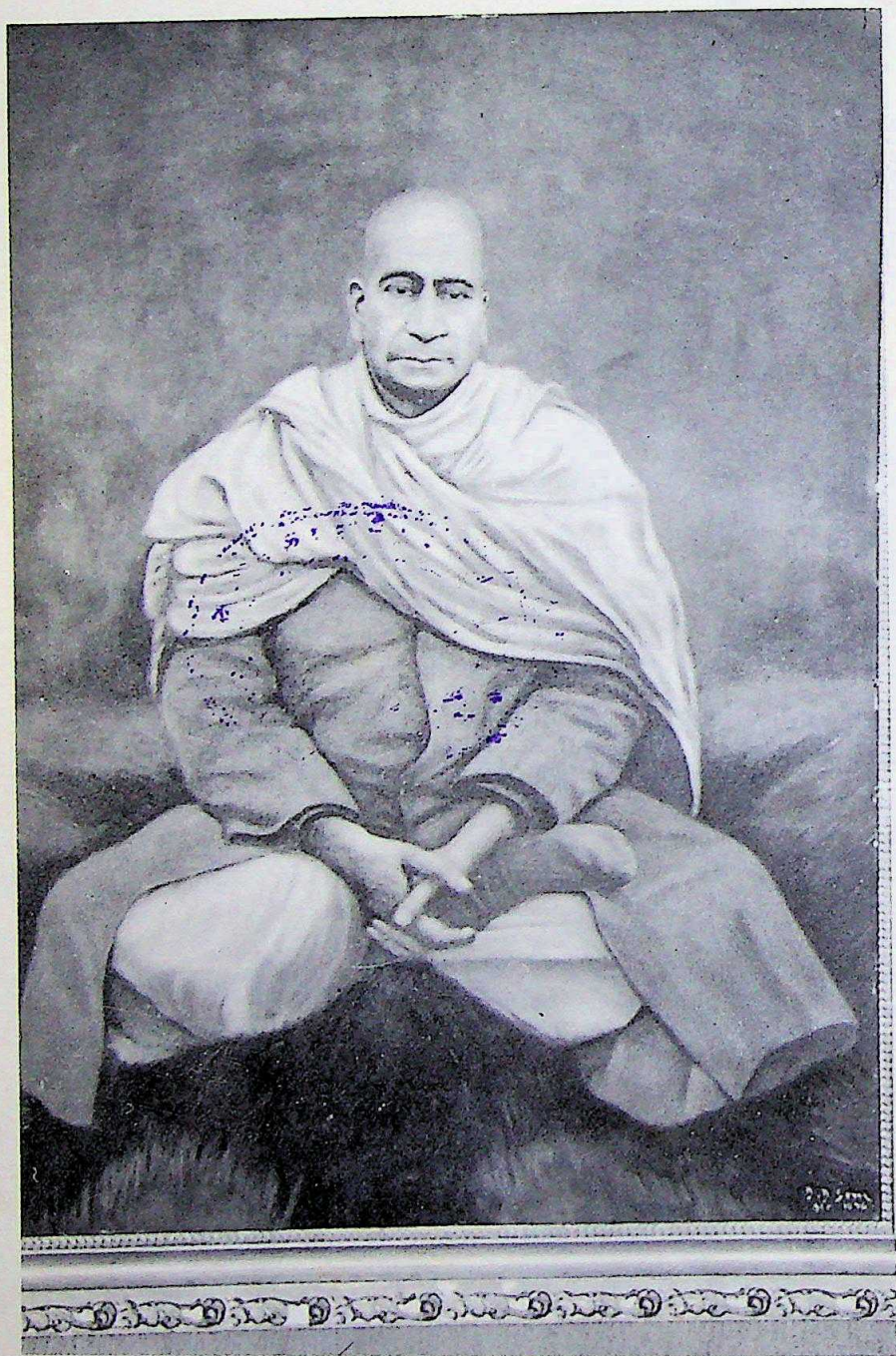
Swami Shraddhanand was a pioneer in girls' education, the leader of the Gurukul section of the Arya Samaj and the founder of the famous Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Haridwar. He was a true disciple of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. He was a nationalist and an ardent patriot. He had an immense faith in the principles of Arya Samaj. He gave great value to Vedic and Sanskrit Studies and was a pioneer in imparting instructions in Hindi at the collegiate level.

He was a great journalist and founded and edited three weekly papers called the *Saddharma Pracharak*, "The Shraddha" and "The Liberator" in Urdu, Hindi and English languages respectively. Through these weekly papers he played a vital role in the anti-Rowlatt agitation, Hindu-Muslim unity, Shuddhi-movement against conversion, removal of untouchability, rejuvenation of Hinduism and Swaraj-Movement etc.

He was born in the same year (1856), when American President Wilson, Lord Halden of England, English dramatist George Barnald Shah and Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak were born. Like all these other leaders Swamiji was also interested in the values of education and spiritual sublime ideology.

He was not a political leader. He was basically a religious man devoted to rejuvenate of Hinduism. He opposed Rowlatt Act Bill because he thought that the Bill was against the basic rights of the people. It was only the demand of time that he had to accept the presidentship of the "Welcome Committee of Amritsar Congress" and after this on the request of Mahatma Gandhi he had to continue its membership and work for its important and national issues in an active way. He had joined this national organisation with the hope and desire to spiritualize the Indian politics. He had an ambition that "inside the Congress" he would be in a better position to uplift the condition of the untouchables. But when he saw that his works for socially trodden people were not getting proper support, he left the platform of the Congress. But he continued the works for the removal of untouchability and rejuvenation of Hinduism outside the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. J.N. Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai paid their tributes in most appreciating words on his assassination by a Muslim Fanatic



श्री स्वामी श्रद्धानन्द

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SHRADDHANANDA SPECIAL ISSUE

Editorial: The Liberator

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Quarterly English Journal

of

Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya

HARDWAR, INDIA



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**Contemporary Socio-Political Observations
of
Swami Shraddhananda**

EDITOR - DR. KRISHNA AUTAR AGARWAL

PREFACE

SWAMI SHRADDHANANDA

Redeemer of Indian Race

Swami Shraddhananda in his student life came in contact with Babu Bhartandu Harish Chandra, who was a great innovator of modern Hindi literature, a great writer, an inborn poet and a journalist. Although he was not influenced with his embellished creative writing but he was deeply impressed with him and his literary circle for their national sentiments, promulgation of Hindi and sublime literatures. Bhartandu was a generous and progressive traditional Vaishnava. But he was also a staunch follower of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. He also considered Pratap Narayan Mishra, Radha Charan Goswami and Bal Krishna Bhatta as great authorities of the age. Bhartandu Harish Chandra received full co-operation and support from Maharishi Dayananda when he entered in the field of Hindi journalism. When Swami Shraddhananda came in contact with Maharishi Dayananda, he undertook his works of national education, the Gurukul system of education, freedom movement, social reformation, Hindi promulgation, journalism and Shuddhi movement. He told this in his autobiography. He came in contact with Bhartanduji in 1875 and Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati in 1879. He was very much impressed with the ideals of the Arya Samaj and the teachings of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati and therefore he did not give any importance to romantic trends. On the other hand he gave value to the morals of life like truth, purity, serenity, honesty and sublimity. In his opinion purity, morality and social reformation are the important traits for the sublime literature.

On February 19, 1889 he published his weekly paper 'Sad-Dharma Pracharak' in Urdu. Although this paper was published in Urdu but it contained the principles and objectives of the

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Arya Samaj, and therefore, it used the words of Sanskrit and Hindi in abundance, while the other Urdu papers in Punjab used Urdu mixed Persian Words. Thus the use of Urdu with Sanskrit words was a revolutionary experiment. He wrote Tracts and books in Urdu, English and Hindi languages. His first book in Urdu was published in 1891, with the name Varna-Vyavastha and the first book in English was also brought out in the same year with the title 'The Future of The Arya Samaj - a Forecast'. The first book in Hindi 'The Arya Sangeet Mala' was published in 1900. His books 'Matra Bhasha Ka Uddhar' (1916), 'Aachar, Anachar and Chuachut' (1916), 'Jati Ke Deeno Ko Mat Tyago' (1919), 'Bandi Ghar Ke Vichitra Anubhav' (1923) 'Kalyan Ke Marg Ka Pathik' (1924), 'Hindu Savdhan' (1924) and 'Achutpan Ke Kalunk Ko Door Karo' (1924) prove his main objectives of life. Salvation from untouchability, Suddhi movement, the Gurukul system of education and freedom movement were his four main pillars of life. He and the disciples of the Gurukula worked on these four movements. We find a great contribution of the scholars of the Gurukula in the freedom movement and journalism.

Swamiji came in contact with Lokmanya Tilak, Madan Mohan Malviya and Mahatma Gandhi in the political field of the country. Gandhiji has referred in his letters that in the Gurukula, the students of his Phoenix Ashram learnt many things. The students of Swamiji sent Rupees fifteen hundred, which they earned through their physical labour, through Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, to the African-Satyagrah of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji was very much impressed with the selfless and sincere work and sacrifice of the Brahmacharies of the Gurukula. Being inspired by these brahmcharies, the students of Gandhiji put an idea of Shramdan in building the Ashram of Vardha on the occasion of Kumbh-Mela at Hardwar in 1915. When Gandhiji met with Swamiji he was deeply impressed with the radiant face, strong will-power and sacrifice of Swamiji and the great scholarship in oriental learning and western scientific knowledge of Acharya Ramdev. Gandhiji asked the guidelines from Swami Sharadhananda in prepar-

ing the rules and regulations of the Ashram of Ahamdabad because he had seen the successful system of the Gurukul Ashram of Swamiji at Hardwar. He adopted in his Ashram the Gurukul culture and its teaching-method. The revolutionary ideals of Lokmanya Tilak inspired Swamiji to join the freedom-movement. He brought out the first edition of 'Sad-Dharma Pracharak' in 1907. At the same time Madhav Rao Saprey, also brought out the first Hindi edition of 'The Kesari'. After the death of Lokmanya Tilak, Swamiji wrote the editorial in Hindi about the greatness of Tilak and thus contributed some important material about this great soul of India. He published the poem 'Hai Tilak Taru Tuta' of Mathili Sharan Guptaji in the 'Shraddha'. At the same time the composition of Sri Bagishwar Vidyalkar, the snatak of the Gurukula, became also very famous. The Sharadha, a weekly Hindi paper, had been published since 1920. The Sharadha was an important magazine for the literary and political matters. It also covered the reviews on the contemporary magazines and literary books.

Swamiji was the reception-president of the Amritsar Congress Conference. He was a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim unity. He delivered his first political address on March 7, 1919. In the 'Sad-dharam Pracharak' and other magazines the news of the courageous and dynamic leadership of Swamiji was published. His lecture from the Jama Masjid jolted the British rulers. The government did not want that there should be unity between Hindus and Muslims. It wanted to crush the movement against the 'The Rowlatt-Act-Bill'. Swami Shraddhananda stood against the government and supported the people who were raising their voice against 'Kala Shasan' in Punjab. Pt. Motilal Nehru and Chitranjandas praised Swamiji for his courageous and noble work. The difference between Swamiji and Gandhiji began to arise on the issues of the manners of Satyagrah. Swamiji resigned from the Congress party because he did not agree with Gandhiji to postpone it. He brought out his third journal 'The Liberator' in English in 1926. In this English paper he wrote 27 editorials with the title 'In and out of the Congress' (from 1st April 1926 to 16th October

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1926). In these editorials he told the reasons of his coming out of the national organisation. Through them the readers came to know about the principles and ideals of Swamiji. He had done great works to unite Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in a national thread. He is also remembered for his efforts to make Hindustani as national language and Swadeshi education-policy. Swamiji declared Gandhiji as national religious leader. He wrote a letter to the father of the nation in 1918, 'We can not get success in making India great till we do not mingle true religion in the political field of the country.'

Swamiji named the freedom movement as Dharam-yudh (religious war) and he participated in it like a true and brave soldier without caring for anybody and any consequences. Ali-Brothers praised Swamiji for his great works. It is clear that both Swami Shradhdhananda and Gandhiji were not supporters of politics with out true religion.

Gandhiji began to stoop down unnecessarily before the polity of the minority. Swamiji presented the solid suggestions to solve the problems of the untouchables in the Nagpur-Congress Conference. He wrote a letter to Gandhiji in 1921, in which he clearly said that he wanted to utilize his full vigour and strength to uplift the down trodden people (Dalit-Varg). He saw that even in the Congress party the Hindus and the Muslims of the high castes were not taking interest in solving the problems of Dalits. Swamiji was not happy with this. The differences between Gandhiji and Swamiji widened on the issues of untouchability and muslim favourism. In the Congress Conferences of Nagpur, Bardol and Lucknow, the issues of untouchability were raised, but no solid resolution could come out. Swamiji worked a lot for the untouchables with his sincere efforts. Gandhiji accepted it. He praised him in these words : "No body has done such an immense work in the field of untouchability, even the Congress could not do so, as Swami Shradhdhanands has done, "The Liberator" has clear-coverages about his views on untouchability. It is the reason that in the Congress-Conference of Gaya it was said that the untouchability-eradication committee could not do any work because in it there was

no man of the grand personality like that of Swami Shraddhananda. He talked about the eradication of untouchables not on political ground but on the basis of human-justice.

Swamiji was an instigator of Hindu Mahasabha and the Suddhi-Movement. In his views Hindu organisation was very important to check the activities of Muslim League and the Muslim Religious Conversion Committee. He wanted to redempt the Hindus. His book on Hindu organisation- Saviour of the Dying Race - is worthy to be read for this purpose. Sri Jugal Kishore helped him financially for the works of Hindu-organisation and Suddhi-Movement. Gandhiji commented on the Suddhi works of Swamiji in appreciating words, but his words were taken otherwise by the muslim orthodox-people. Seeing muslims' reactions, the Arya-Samajists filled with anger. The result of it was the assassination of Swami Shraddhanda. The Suddhi Movement of Swamiji should have been taken in the context of caste-defence but unfortunately it was taken otherwise. There was parition of India into two parts - India & Pakistan. Gandhiji had to see the dreadful sight of the partition of the country. Indrajii, son of Swamiji, wrote that he (Swamiji) wanted to give the reference of the article of Gandhiji on the unity of the Hindus and Muslims, but it could not be published in his magazine in his lifetime. After his death it was published in "The Young India". In the article Mahatmajii used such a style which sent the message to the world as his liberal attitude towards the muslims. But it left the bad impression on the socio-political scenario in India. In this article Mahatmajii criticized Swamiji. It spoiled the communal harmony of the country. Swamiji was considering the Suddhi-Movement as the coming back of the Aryans to their homes. But the writer of these lines thinks that the contemporay people were wrong in understanding Swamiji.

In the editorials and critical comments of 'The Liberator', Swamiji has expressed his clear views on the problems of untouchability and Suddhi-Movement. The political, social, religious and educational history of thirty seven years (1889 to 1926) have been

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secured through these editorials, papers, critical comment, lectures and addresses of Swamiji in his journals. Dr. Ranjeet Singh has considered Swamiji as the originator of journalism in his book 'Swami Sharaddhanad' (Samagra Muliankan) : Till date we do not find any research work in this field. After a deep contemplation of his papers and articles we can get piquant knowledge. These papers and articles are very important not only in social field but also in political field. Padam Bhushan Dr. Banarsi Das Chaturvedi has the same opinion about his articles.

I am very happy to see that Dr. Krishna Autar Agarwal, Dept. of English, Gurukula Kangri University, Harwar has reprinted the editorials of 'The Liberator' by Swamiji in an special issue of the Vedic Path. I have a keen desire that in an another special issue of the Vedic Path he should reprint the rest important critical material of 'The Liberator' by Swamiji. With this unique work the coming generations will be benifitted with the freedom-movement and the political history of India in which there is a great contribution of Lokmanya Tilak, Bal Krishna Gokhle, Motilal Nahru, Madan Mohan Malviya, Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Shraddhanada, Gurudev Ravindra Nath Tagore, and Rev. C.F. Adrewes. In the history of freedom movement there is a great importance of the impartial articles of 'The Liberator'. I hoe this special-issue of 'The Vedic Path' will be beneficial to the readers who want to know the 'Vision And Thought' of this great 'Karm-Yogi'

Prof. Vishnudutta Rakesh,
D. Litt

Acharya and Head, Dept. of Hindi,
Director, Swami Shraddhananda
Research Publishing Centre,
G.K.V. Harwar.

MESSAGE

Swami Shraddhananda was not only a social reformer, religious leader, freedom fighter and a great educationist, but he was also a vigilant journalist of his time. He edited and published the 'Saddharm Prachark', 'The Shraddha' and 'The Liberator', papers in Urdu, Hindi and English languages respectively from 1889 to 1926.

He joined the Congress on the request of Mahatma Gandhi at the time of non-cooperation and freedom movements against the British Rulers. His disciples and followers fought against British Government under his dynamic leadership. He left the Congress party on some basic differences with Gandhiji but his deep love and respect for him did not diminish. He had cognate, intimate and harmonious relations with him throughout his life. Swami Shraddhananda, Mahatma Gandhiji and Lokmanya Tilak had great influence on the contemporary politics.

In 'The Liberator' Swamiji has devoted 27 editorials on the Congress with the title 'In and out of the Congress'. In these editorials he has observed the congress minutely and narrated its merits and demerits impartially. This 'editorial-series' is thought-provoking, contemplative, reflective, apprehensive, speculative, rational, useful and most delightful.

Editor Dr. K.A. Agarwal and all the members of the editorial board of 'The Vedic Path' deserve special compliments for reprinting and editing the valuable thoughts on the contem-

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porary politics of the founder of the Gurukul Kangri in the form of an 'Special Issue of The Vedic Path'. I propose to have more publications on the 'Vision and Thought' of this great rishi of the Gurukul and the Arya Samaj from time to time. So that the devotees and lovers of Swami Shraddhananda and the readers of his 'mind and art' will be in position to comprehend and understand his ideals.

I hope the readers and researchers will be mostly benefitted with this rare, excellent and unique work.

Prof. Dharma Pal Arya
Vice-Chancellor
Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya,
Hardwar - U.P.

EDITORIAL

Whenever the topics of the redemption from untouchability; the rejuvenation of Hinduism; the attainment of Swaraj; girls' education; denouncement of casteism and child marriage, strong support of widow remarriage and protection of orphans are discussed, the name of their pioneer, Swami Shraddhananda, stands out. He was an ardent disciple of Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. He was the only disciple of the great Rishi who blossomed fully and completely, absorbing all the aspects of the ancient Aryan ideals. He reproclaimed the wisdom of the Vedas and saved the Hindu society by the power of his Karma tapasya. Simple life and spiritual aspirations were the two essentials of his life goal. He stands in all and full colours of a model disciple - in his Guru-worship, in his love for India and his country-men and dedication in serving them and shows them the way of Swaraj. To him Rishi Dayananda was a unique Guru.

He was the leader of the Gurukula section of the Arya Samaj. He established the famous 'Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya' on the pious bank of the Holy Ganga at Haridwar. He was the first leader of the country who founded with the co-operation of Lala Dev Raj the Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullundur in the last decade of the 19th century. From a lawyer, a Deputy Tahsildar and a staunch atheist he turned himself to a great Arya Samajist after hearing a lecture by Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. Since then (1902), he devoted all his time to the works of the Arya Samaj and laboured to bring up the system of gurukul education. He had pioneered in imparting instructions in Hindi at the collegiate level.

He had immense faith in the Arya Samaj and the value of Vedic and Sanskrit studies. He founded the 'Dalit Uddhar Sabha'

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in Delhi, played a notable role in the anti-Rowlatt agitation, became the chairman of the reception committee of the Amritsar Conference of the Congress in 1919 and participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement for which he was imprisoned in 1922.

Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati believed in journalism. He considered it a principal organ of the revolution of thoughts and ideas because it is the best media to reach the public. Swami Shraddhananda like his 'Divine-Guru' had deep faith in journalism and he made it his mission of life. He took the shelter of journalism to send the principles and ideals of Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati to the Indian people. His first Urdu Weekly 'Sad-Dharam Pracharak' of eight pages was published on Feb. 19, 1889 with an editorial of Sh. Devraj and its key-article was written by Swami Shraddhanadaji himself. Though its medium was Urdu language but its nature and style was based on Sanskrit-Hindi journals. The paper was devoted to the topics of traditional and contemporary religions, politics and education. It was brought out successfully for nearly 18 years (from 1889 to 1906). The following lines from the letter of an Arya Samajist proved a turning-point of this Urdu-Weekly into a Hindi-paper :

"Swamiji you claim to be a true disciple of Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati, but he has written his whole literature in Hindi, then why do you bringout your weekly 'Sad-dharma Pracharaka' in Urdu language?"

The first edition of the 'Sad-dharma Pracharak' was published in Hindi in 1906. It was the first weekly-paper in Hindi in Punjab which advocated Vedic literature, Aryan culture and Aryan principles. The language of the 'Sad-dharma Pracharak' was chaste-Hindi. The Urdu dominating area of Punjab for the first time tasted the pure-water of Hindi. The great writer of Punjab Sh. Santram B.A. accepted with pride that he learnt Hindi only after continuous reading the issues of the 'Sad-dharma Pracharak'.

Poet Pt. Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya has praised this paper in the following lines :

उर्दू छुड़ा के हिन्दी का नक्शा जमा दिया,
पंजाब की जवान को भाषा बना दिया।

In 1908 the 'Sad-dharma Pracharak' press was shifted to Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar from where this was published under the managership of Pt. Anantram Sharma. On the visit of King George V at Delhi the paper was published as a Daily News Paper under the editorship of Swamiji's son Pt. Indra Vidya-vachaspati. But after its ten daily issues it was again made a weekly paper.

Swami Shraddhananda published another weekly paper 'Shraddha' from Gurukul Kangri in 1920. The first issue of it came out on 23rd April, 1920. This paper was devoted to Hindu-Muslim unity. In the issue of the 'Shraddha' (Nov. 19, 1920) Maulana Shokat Ali, a great leader of Muslims, said :

"God knows that the Aryan-brothers have helped us with open hearts in the Khilafat-Movement. Their co-operation has touched us deeply. The hearts of Swami Shraddhanada, Swami Satyadev and so many others Aryan-brothers are full of great love and sympathy for us. They realize pains and troubles of Muslim brothers. We have been fully convinced that the Aryan-work is fully based on humanity where there is no partiality between man and man. All are sons and daughters of Allah for them. We have seen this with our open eyes."

In the issue of the "Shraddha" (Feb, 1922) there are some columns which show the differences of Swamiji with M.K. Gandhi. Being dishearted Gandhiji postponed the 'Chawra-Chori Movement' which Swamiji did not like. He also could not understand the non-co-operation of Gandhiji in this movement. He wrote this in the issue of 13th August 1920 of the "Shraddha".

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In the same way he also thought 'the Calcutta-Conference of no importance, which he narrated in the issue of the "Shraddha" (17th September, 1920) Swamiji was disappointed to see that in the conference the problems of the untouchables were not taken up. His 'Shraddha' was a fearless and audacious paper. It criticised in strong words the inhuman massacre at Jalian-Wala Bagh by Mr. Dayor; cruelties and unjust acts of Mr. Jonson at Amritsar and Lahore. Swamiji published the following lines of Poet Anand Nidhi against the devilish act of Mr. Dayor :

बेदाग़ हो गये वे दागा था जिनको तूने,
सब दाग़ आ लगे हैं तेरे दहन पै डायर।

Swamiji was a great supporter of 'Hindu-Muslim unity'. He had full respect and regard for the Muslim-scholars. He wrote a befitting 'Tribute' on the death of Sheikh Ulihind Maulana Mahmuddul Hussain, the great lover of Hindu-Muslim unity, in the issue of the 'Shraddha'. His keynote address at the Inaugural Ceremony of the Aligarh Muslim University stamped his great sholorship. The 'Shraddha' was coloured with the feelings of patriotism and 'Swaraj'. It lamented on the pitiable condition of the country. See the following lines published in it :

न धन बचा है न मान कोई, स्वतंत्रता का न नाम कोई,
सुरम्य उद्यान को हमारे, सभी तरह से सुखा रहा है।

Swamiji through his journalism had attempted to save the Hinduism. He tired to trace the causes of its decline. He was unhappy for its present deplorable downfall. On 8th April, 1926 Swami Shraddhananda started his paper "The Liberator" under the joint editorship of P.R. Lele, B.A., LL.B. It was an English weekly published at Delhi every Thursday. It brought out 37 issues from 1st April to 16th December, 1926. It stood for the removal of untouchability, the rejuvenation of Hinduism and the attainment of Swaraj as an automatic result of internal growth. It

was published in English for those readers outside the Northern India who wished to remain in touch with the activities of upper India and the Capital of the country. The English Weekly's main aim was to liberate the untouchables. He had used the English language indispensable for communicating his views to the intelligentsia in the South where the evils existed in the most objectionable and inhuman form. It was full of vigour of style and picturesqueness of language.

'The Liberator' was warmly welcomed by the people of the South. I quote their welcome words as below :

"We welcome the latest addition to our English Weeklies, 'The Liberator' started by Swami Shraddhanandaji from Delhi in announcing the aims that it will more particularly have before it, gives the foremost place to the problem of the "Untouchables". It also aims at destroying the power of 'cliques' and 'bosses' and to save the villages from the inroads of 'civilisation'. We wish the Liberator every success and a long career of service to the nation....." (18th April, 1926)

Swamiji believed, like Lokmanya Tilak, 'Swaraj' as their birth right. Freedom alone is really blessed and it is born of strength to do and not to do. He said in 'The Liberator', 'A freeman is not satisfied with his own monopoly of freedom but stakes his all to make his fellowmen as free as himself. It is of such men that a free community is formed. Of such free communities a free nation is formed. Such free nations go to make a free humanity. One nation in bondage economic or military, physical or mental, forced or voluntary makes a free humanity impossible. One community in bondage makes a free nation impossible". (Swami Shraddhananda; The Liberator; Thursday, 1st April, 1926)

The edifice of free India can be constructed only when the untouchables are uplifted and they are given a proper and respective place in the society. The caste-system is the root

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cause of the curse of untouchability. So he took the problems of the so-called untouchables, through his English Weekly 'The Liberator'. He was of the opinion that the doctrine of the untouchability is the gangrene of the Hindu polity. The hard vanity, deeprooted prejudice, degenerating ignorance and doping superstition are the germs that feed the gangrene. So we have to attack each one of these germs that feed the gangrene and try to get rid of it. Only then the real Hindudom will recover its former strength and vitality and will attain its 'Vedic Purity'. Swamiji believed that when there will be Vedic purity and the rejuvenation of Hinduism, the country will automatically disable the jaws of the shark of foreign domination, because India will then possess internal strength which will precede the disappearance of English-Rulers. Except this Internal Development there is no other royal road, no magic-wand, no ethereal process to achieve Swaraj.

We have to break down conventional barriers of castes and creeds. Swamiji also believed that 'the willing subordination of the people to the dictates of bosses' is equally harmful. When "cliques have continuous existence, the bosses rise and fall in quick succession. Individuals change but the institution 'Boss' lives." These bosses had no power of their own. They were supplied that power by imagination that ruled the world. So Swamiji told the people that the craze of willing subordination was an evil which must be stopped. He was shocked to see that a small band of outsiders (White-People) could govern a large country (India) only by an alliance with the indigenous masters who were posted all over the country. The selfish elites of India called them superior classes. These so-called masters always found their interest to link themselves with the governing caste English people. The two together succeeded in driving Indian masses under their yoke only to groan under the weight but were held by their own helplessness. Swamiji through the weekly

issues of 'The Liberator' tried to help them to realise their importance and strength to throw off the foreign-yoke. Only free-India could make all-sided and harmonious development and the villages could be saved from inroads and could not be divorced from nature. The villagers would not be enticed to live in cities and desert their villages.

He believed that development is not a compromise but a continuous onward march. "The mind and the body have both to be developed simultaneously. All the limbs of the body must receive due attention."

Swamiji emphasised upon the work of liberating the suppressed classes through the inspiring columns of his paper. 'The Liberator' tried to liberate villages from the temptation of cities and on the suggestion of M.K. Gandhi, he took the task to introduce spinning wheel among the people to realise the importance of their labour. Gandhiji praised Swamiji's efforts to uplift the suppressed classes of India. I quote the letter of the father of the nation :

"The Liberator has an ambitious programme. If it succeeds in any single one of the items enumerated in the notice before me, the journal will have earned the name that Swami Shraddhanandaji has chosen to give his latest creation.

The notice before me rightly places emphasis upon the works of liberating the suppressed classes but there are still more numerous classes held under suppression by our insane desire to clothe ourself in foreign cloths. And they are not a fifth of the population of India but there are four-fifths and if the 'Liberator' will liberate villages from the temptation of cities, I venture to suggest that the task is an impossibility without the spinning wheel."

M.K. Gandhi

('The Liberator' Thursday, 1st April, 1926)

In reply to his paper Swamiji assured him that the charkha would come well within the scheme which he would gradually unfold. 'Swadeshmtira of Madras' (a Tamil Daily Paper) in its issue dated 12th April, 1926, had praised this paper for its chaste-English and bold editorial remarks :

"... The language is bold, clear and unequivocal. As is observed by Gandhiji, if anyone of the objects of 'The Liberator' be gained by Swami Shraddhanandaji, it would be true to name Liberator. We pray God that He may grant this paper a long life of beneficial Services to India under the guidance of Shraddhanada."

Again 'The Mysore Chronicle' of Banglore in its issue of 11th April, 1925 writes :

"Swami Shraddhanandaji is a staunch protagonist of the movement for Hindu generation. He is devoutly followed and he is bitterly condemned. This paper serves the real need of keeping people in touch with the thoughts of a great Hindu reformer from week to week."

The present volume covers the socio-political views of the contemporary India of Swamiji. He has written 27 editorials with the title 'In and out of the Congress' where in he has accepted that he was inspired by Mahatma Gandhi to join the Congress party but he left the party on some basic differences with him. He did not like Gandhiji's manner of Satyagrah and again the way of postponing it. He also did not like Gandhiji's way of muslim-favourism. The last (37th) issue of the 'Liberator' was brought-out on 16th December 1926 and Swamiji was assassinated by a muslim fanatic on 23rd December 1926. Mr. P.R. Lele, the Maharashtrian scholar and Joint editor of 'The Liberator', brough-out a book with the title 'Inside Congress' in 1946. He edited the political experiences of Swamiji in it. Swamiji joined the Congress party in its beginning- stage when it had no vital role in the country and it was considered the party only of the

elite- group of the society. Some people called it the debating club of well educted people. Swamiji joined this party in 1888 after three years of its birth. In first few articles of this series Swamiji has sketched an interesting picture of the organisation when its working field was very limited. Swamiji has given its romantic description in a very bold and interesting language. Lala Lajpat Roy, Lokmanya Tilak and Vipin Chandra Pal infused a new vigour in the party. Swamiji has described their devoted activities in these articles. In the Surat-Conference the Congress party was divided into two groups- garant dal and narayam dal. Swamiji described the vital role of Lokmanya Tilak in strengthening the party in these editorials.

Swamiji has given a detailed account of the circumstances of the strike against the Rowlett Bill. He was the eye-witness of it. He opposed this Bill strongly and opened his iron-breast before the guns of Gorkha-soldiers at Chandni-Chowk, Delhi and told them challenging that before attacking the innocent people they had to pierce the breast of this Sanyasi with their bullets. The gun-men could not have courage to fire upon him. His boldness tied up the Hindu-Muslim unity. He became the emperor of the Hindus and the Muslims without a crown. He was the first and the last Hindu-leader in the history of India who addressed the masses of both the communities from the Jumma Masjid because the Muslim-brothers knew that a real Sanyasi is above the narrow cells of Caste and Creed. He is the citizen of the whole world.

Unfortunately, in his life-time he had to see with his painful eyes the roits between Hindus and Muslimes which he has narrated in The Liberator. He was sad to see hate between the people of these two communities. He could accept the Khilafat movement of the Congress in a limited way. When this movement could not succeed the muslims began to draw themselves away from the main stream of national movement.

Message

Swamiji had boldly written this in his editorials with the title - "In and Out of the Congress". He had unhesitatingly written that Gandhiji had a very liberal attitude for Muslims. He favoured them and recommended unreasonable facilities for them. Thus he could not do impartial judgement towards Hindus. This was one of the reasons of his differences with Gandhiji. This partial attitude of the Mahatma created problems in creating harmonious-balance between the Hindus and the Muslims. Swamiji could not tolerate the wrong policies of the Congress for a long time and he separated himself from this national organisation. He resigned from the Congress. In the series of his editorials, on the one hand he has narrated incidents and activities of 30 years of the national movement (from 1888 to 1922) and on the other hand he has given an authentic document of India's political, social, patriotic and national activities. He has covered a large number of topics like Introduction of Indian National Congress, Congress- Conferences of Lahore and Lucknow, great contributions of Bal, Pal and Lal in the national movement, religious war (crusade), reality of 'Satyagrah', entrance in the Jumma Masjid, role of Lord Baron, unfortunate and tragic incidents, resign from the Congress, Journey from Amritsar to Calcutta, Untouchability in Calcutta, problems of untouchability, holi of the foreign cloths, memorial smarak of Delhi, Mahatma Gandhi in prison, role of the new Muslim-Maulanas etc.

The aim of this special issue of The Vedic Path is to present before the readers, the contemporary socio-political observations of Swami Shraddhananda. His Liberator stands to establish justice and truth in the country. The real strength of the world lies in 'Justice and Truth'. He embraces this strength in the form of his religion, which he devotes towards Godly Power. The main aim of his paper is to destroy traditional superstition, unscientific beliefs, untouchability, exploitation and lack of spirituality which were harming the Hinduism. The paper has not only

given the history of freedom-movement but it has also suggested the scheme to build the 'Navyug'. He was the pioneer-journalist for more than four decades. He was the strong pillar of journalism. Among the four great journalists he occupies the most important place. The other three journalists were Lokmanya Tilak, Madan Mohan Malviya and Mahatma Gandhi. The aim of these inform journalists was to awake the sleeping-souls of their countrymen.

On his 74th Death anniversary the editorial board of the Vedic Path has decided to bring out this 'Special-Issue' of the Vedic Path reprinting a series of twenty seven editorials of Swamiji in a book form. This issue serves the real need of keeping the people in touch with the noble ideals and thoughts of Swamiji. This issue on his 'Balidan Divas' is a humble dedication to this great Karm-Yogi and great patriot of Bharat Mata.

In the end I want to thank Dr. Vishnu Dutta Rakesh, Acharya and Head Dept. of Hindi; and Director, Swami Shraddhananda Research Publishing Centre, G.K.V. Hardwar, for inspiring me to bring out a special issue of the Vedic Path in the form of a book to present Swami Shraddhananda's Contemporary socio-political observations through his 27 edictorials with the title 'In and Out of the Congress' in the Liberator. I am also grateful to him for writing a preface to this book.

I would express my deep gratitude to our learned Vice-Chancellor Prof. Dharma Pal Arya for his spontaneous inspiration, energy and love to complete this task. I also thank him for his soulful message.

I would like to express my sense of gratitude to all members of the editorial board for their full support in preparing this book. My deep appreciation is to Prof. Ved Prakash Shastri, Acharya and Pro-Vice-Chancellor, G.K.V., Hardwar for his bless-

Message

ings. I feel deeply obliged to Prof. Shyam Narayan Singh, Registrar, G.K.V., Hardwar for his kind co-operation. I thank Dr. Jagdish Vidyalkar, Librarian, G.K.V., for his help in providing the issues of The Liberator. I would also like express my gratitude to Sh. Jai Singh Guptra, Finance-Officer, G.K.V. Hardwar for his generous financial support.

Finally, my thanks to Sh. Avdhesh Shivpuri, the Managing Director of the Sadbhawna Press, Hardwar; for the fine printing and nice get-up of this book.

Balidan Divas
23th December 1999
Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya,
Hardwar.

✓ Krishan Autar Agarwal

In and out of the Congress

I

Long before the first Congress met in the name of the Indian nation, and a few oligarchs passed certain resolutions in a drawing room in Bombay, I was a regular student of the Pioneer and the Lahore Tribune. I knew as much about the political movements in the country as a citizen was expected to know.

The first time that I heard of the proposal to start a national political society was, probably, in September 1885 A.D., when Mr. Allan O'Hume made a tour through India for inducing educated Indians to join the new movement. Mr. Hume brought out a pamphlet with the title - "Star in the East" - and went round distributing it and interviewing prominent Indians with a view to enlisting their sympathy for the new movement. I was, then, in Lahore attending lectures for my final examination in law and had become a member of the Aryasamaj. Mr. Hume found that he was not trusted by the Indian gentlemen there. Some put him off with the excuse that they had no leisure, others promised to think over the matter. If any one of them was taken unawares and promised to join the movement he was sure to send an apologetic letter the next day with some pretext to back out of his promise.

Mr. Hume was much put out at his failure to secure the sympathy of the Punjabis. Full of energy, he set up an inquiry and found that the mischief was done by an Aryasamajist M.A. who held a respectable post under the British Government. Failing to obtain materials for exposing the gentleman publicly, the impulsive Mr. Hume wrote to the President of the Lahore Aryasamaj, protesting against an atheist "being treated as a member of the Samaj founded by his revered friend the late Pandit Dayanand Saraswati Swami."

After that a few intellectuals from all parts of the country met under the presidentship of the late Mr. W.C. Bonnerji and laid the foundation of a patriotic oligarchy under the title of "the Indian National Congress." I followed the proceedings of the Congress - as it was called - and its activities with great attention.

In 1888 A.D. I came in somewhat close contact with the national movement. The session of the congress was to be held in the last week of December 1888 at Allahabad. Sir Auckland Cloven was Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, of which Allahabad was the capital. Sir A.Colvin issued a secret circular prohibiting Government servants from joining the Congress and placed other obstacles in its way. Mr. Hume wrote a stringent letter of protest putting straight, inconvenient questions to the Governor who wrote a strong reply and sent it to the Press.

No sooner was the Lieutenant Governor's printed reply received by Mr. Hume at Simla then a counter-reply was prepared within 12 hours which appeared in pamphlet form covering some 80 printed pages. It was a crushing rejoinder and roused the Indian community to a sense of their duty. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's anti-Congress Muslim (miscalled Patriotic) League had already come into existence and was strengthening the hands of the bureaucracy in their divide and rule policy.

Both the Congress and the anti-Congress propaganda were pushed on in the Punjab. Kali Babu, then sub-Editor of the Lahore Tribune, was deputed to establish a Congress Committee at Jalandhar City where I was practising as a Pleader. Kali was a friend of mine and an Aryasamajist. I called to my aid my relation and friend Lala Balak Ram. He was a Municipal Councillor and an Honorary Magistrate. His influence over Musalmans was great. A meeting was called at a private residence. Orthodox Hindus and Musalmans joined in large numbers and almost all the Rases were present. The resolution of sympathy with the objects of the Indian National Congress was moved by Khan Bahadur Fazal-i-Karim Khan, Vice-President of the Municipality, seconded by Lala Harbhaj Raj, President local Hindusabha, who was also an Honorary Magistrate and was supported by almost all the titled people present.

This took place on 24th May (Queen Victoria's birthday) and on 31st of the same month a leading article in the "Tribune" gave a vivid description of the triumph of the Congress party. This triumph was only short-lived. Sir Syed's Anti-Congress Propaganda was openly begun by a bound Musalman Pleader and one by one almost all the Musalman supporters of the Congress went over to the Anti-Congress league. But there was a real accession to the Congress Camp in the persons of Khwaja Shah Muhammad Pleader and Pirdad Khan Saheb Mukhtar, who remained Congressmen as long as I was at Jalandhar.

In order to bring Musalmans back to the Congress fold the central body of the Congress engaged Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji of Bombay who toured throughout the Punjab during September, but the Mohammadan opposition was very strong and except Skeikh Umarbaksh M.A., Pleader of Hoshiarpur, I do not remember any prominent Musalman having openly come forward to espouse the Congress cause. Like his two brother lawyers of Jalandhar, Sheikh

Umar Baksh also remained devoted to the Congress cause.

At Jalandhar Hindu lawyers joined in large numbers and a local Congress Committee was formed. I was appointed Secretary and in the very next meeting of the Executive Committee I placed a programme of intensive propaganda work for the towns and villages of the district before it and asked for volunteers to go round educating the masses and finding out their grievances. My colleagues wholeheartedly laughed.-"It is a political propaganda. It is no need calling any more meetings. When the time comes we will elect delegates for the Allahabad Congress in a public meeting. It is not the Aryasamaj, Mahashayaji where members are required to sacrifice their worldly interests for mere sentiment." I was disgusted and resigned from the Secretary's Office. I was so absorbed in the discharge of my duties as President of the Jalandhar Aryasamaj that when the time for going to attend the Congress came, I was engaged in making the anniversary meeting of the Jalandhar Aryasamaj completely successful.

Thus ended my first connection with the Congress.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi
Editor, The Liberator

In and out of the Congress

II

I never acted the part of carpet-knight in any movement. Although I regularly read all about the Congress Movement and sent for every report of its Annual Sessions, yet I did not keep any active connection with its doings.

It was in the beginning of the year 1893 that, for the first time, the 9th Annual sessions of the Indian National Congress was invited on behalf of the Punjab. Lahore, the capital city of the Punjab, was to be the host of the Indian patriots. Sardar Dayal Singh Majithia, the well known public spirited premier nobleman, agreed to act as Chairman of the Reception Committee, because the leading Indian lawyer, (the late Rai Bahadur Sir Pratoool Chandra Chatterji) had resigned on account of his being raised to the Punjab Chief Court bench. The late Bakshi Jaishi Ram Vakil was appointed acting Secretary. Bakshiji being a special friend asked me to help him in popularizing the idea of the Congress. It was a time when even English-Educated people knew very little about the National Movement. As regards the

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masses they had never heard of it before and were not certain whether it was a man, an animal or a fetish. I could not say 'nay' to my friend Bakshiji and promised to deliver 10 to 12 lectures on the aims and objects of the Congress at different places in the Punjab. I could not promise to do more, because I had only recently been appointed president of the Aryapratinidhi Sabha the representative body of the Punjab Aryasamajas and the administrative burden to the body was heavy.

The first lecture of the series was arranged for Amritsar. The Bandematram Hall was engaged which had a seating capacity for some 1500 souls. Besides big posters being pasted at all principal places more than a thousand handbills were distributed. I reached Amritsar a few hours before the time of the meeting and some thirty Arya brethren gathered at our Secretary's to talk about Aryasamaj matters. All of them accompanied me to the lecture-hall and seated themselves facing the stage which was occupied by Bakshi Jaishiram with 5 or 6 gentlemen from Lahore. At the appointed time the audience did not exceed 40 souls. I was asked to wait for 15 minutes more. The audience swelled up to 63 souls, I could not wait any longer and went on holding forth on the aims and claims of the Indian National Congress on the Indian people for one hour and a half. And when I counted the audience at the end it had not risen over 67.

But my surprise knew no bounds when, after three days, I found a leading article in the daily Tribune, devoted to a description of the enthusiasm which prevailed. The house was

said to have been full to overflowing and my spirited and eloquent address was made to have evoked cheers after cheers. Like the simple soil that I have always been, I wrote to the Editor protesting against exaggerated statements and asked him to publish my plain unvarnished statement. My statement was never published but I was freed from my engagement and was never asked to speak on behalf of the Congress again.

But the Congress Committee went to work on other lines. Sir Syed Ahmed's Anti-Congress league was out for mischief and the best way of check-mating it was considered to be the engagement of a Musulman Mukhtar who went through the Province enlisting Musulman members and popularizing the Congress propaganda amongst them. All the dues consisting of time and money were paid to the gentleman and he worked with a will. The result of his endeavours was that scores of Moham-medan delegates joined the Congress session at Lahore. I shall deal with their connection with the Congress further on.

It was in the year 1893 that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the grand old man of India, was returned by the Liberal constituency of Central Finsbury to the British House of Commons. Mr. Naoroji had been invited to preside over the Congress deliberations and had accepted the invitation. There was great enthusiasm throughout the country and when the man with a purpose, for being which he had been stigmatised a mad man, arrived at Lahore, the welcome which he received was at that time considered to be unique. His conveyance was unhorsed, and graduates

and Raikes of the city took it through the city. The educated community realized the triumph of an Indian being returned to the British Parliament but about a million of the masses who lined both side of the city streets, knew nothing of Politics. They simply came to honour the man who would reduce the price of grain as he had become one of their rulers.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi



In and out of the Congress

III

Let me describe the procedure of electing delegates, as it was then in vogue. The Secretary called a public meeting which was attended by about twenty souls. These met in deliberation and prepared a list of 41 gentlemen. The list was sent to the Press. The Secretary was given the power of co-opting as many delegates more as he liked. I was one of those 41 elected delegates. The day of departure came. On the Jalandhar city Railway Station very few of these 41 turned up; but others were going. The Secretary went up to them and asked whether they would like to become delegates. The names of those who were likely to attend were added. This addition went on till the very opening day of the session.

I reached Lahore two days before the session was to begin and on the evening of the next day went with friends to have a look at the Congress Pandal. My friend, Bakshi Jaishiram, appeared to be much troubled. The delegates were to assemble next noon and the chairs were still lying in heaps outside the Pandal. Learning the cause of my friend's trouble I glanced

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In and out of the Congress

towards the outer Maidan and noticing Aryasamajist loiterers there called them to me. Within 2 hours every seat was in its place. The Bakshiji mentioned another difficulty. The work of enlisting delegates and issuing tickets to them was progressing very slowly. I promised to look to that also.

The next morning I reached the pandal early with Aryasamaj workers, and we distributed the work among ourselves. It was then found that almost every Muslim delegate, who was brought to be enlisted, was a "Waiz" (religious preacher) and when the time for issuing tickets to them arrived, the Muslim Mukhtar propagandist asked the gentleman in charge of the tickets to issue them to Muslims without payment of Rs. 10/- as delegate's fee. The matter being referred to me as general supervisor of the department, I refused to issue tickets without payment unless a written authority was brought from the general Secretary. The written authority was brought and tickets were issued to every Muslim "Waiz" delegate free of charge. There was a further charge of Rs. 10/- per head for those who messed in Indian fashion in the Congress Camp. That messing fee, too, was not charged to the Muslim delegates while they were served with all the delicacies of "Dastarkhan."

It was in this way that, in spite of Sir Syed Ahmed's efforts to the contrary, Muslim sympathy with the Congress was bolstered up. And these "Waiz" delegates stopped in the pandal only a few minutes in the beginning and were to be found enjoying creature comforts under the refreshment "Shamikshah" outside the pandal for the last of the sitting. This aspect of politics again disgusted me with the Congress propaganda world.

The session opened with great enthusiasm. The Grand old man of India got an ovation which has never been equalled. And when after the reception committee chairman's address had been read by Lala Harkishan Lal and the name of Dadabhai Naoroji had been proposed and seconded in beautiful, loving language by Anandacharlu and others, the little figure of the Parsipatriot was seen at the presidential chair, the scene became indescribable. The audience became mad with enthusiasm. The president began to read his address in a clear penetrating voice and when he asked his audience to allow him to forget his identity for a moment and to rejoice with them that an Indian had got into the British Parliament, tears of joy were seen coursing down hundreds of cheeks. I felt as if I would go and fall down to worship the man who had so selflessly sacrificed his all at the altar of his country.

There are some incidents connected with that session of the Congress which are indelibly fixed in my memory. The first is that of Gopal Krishana Gokhale who came to speak on a very intricate question, gave facts, figures and arguments lucidly within five minutes and, when the audience called upon him to go on, said that he must obey the chair and left dragging his flowing dupatta after him. Then, in the session of the Social Conference when Gokhale came forward to speak on some subject and I was sitting with Dadabhi Naoroji with two others, Mr. Naoroji, who had been chatting with us cheerfully and making us laugh, became quiet and said-"I like this young man. Among long-winded oratorical bores he is the only man who talks sense, puts his case clearly within a few minutes and leaves an impression behind. He is the coming man."

In and out of the Congress

The next impression is of Pandit Mahadeva Gobind Ranade, the Guru of Mr. Gokhale. I was known to Mr. Ranade by correspondence only in connection with the status of the Jallundhar Kanya Pathshala to the status of a College. We met for the first time at Lahore. Unfortunately the Arya Samaj had been split up into two parties a year before. One difference of opinion was as regards high education to be imparted to Indian girls. The party to which I belonged [called at that time the Mahatma party] was for, while the opposite [called the cultured] party was against the proposal. The late, Rai Narayan Das M.A. and I [representing both the parties] went to Mr. Ranade to assist him in drafting resolutions for the coming social conference. While we were talking about Arya Samajic affairs to Mr. Ranade who was one of the earliest admirers and followers of Rishi Dayananda, Mr. Hume came to consult him about a proposed resolution of the political Congress. The question was to draft the resolution to the satisfaction of all. Within ten minutes Ranade did what could not be accomplished by the joint deliberations of the Congress Subjects Committee for as many hours. Mr. Ranade was a Judge of the Bombay High Court then. But he attended every Session of the Congress as a visitor and helped the politicians in drafting resolutions. And what an apt pupil of the great Maharatta Leader Gokhale was came to light when at the Surat Congress of 1907, the Reception Committee remained puzzled as regards the drafts of resolutions until Gokhale arrived to their relief.

I had another experience of Ranade's overwhelming intellect. The cultured party of the Arya Samaj wanted to weaken the

draft resolution about thought that the opening of Aryan Girls' College would stand in the way of the financial prosperity of their D.A.V. College for boys. Mr. Ranade placed the resolution, drafted by myself and brother Devaraj, before Rais Mulraj and Narayan Das asking them to amend it according to their lights. After they had worked at it unsuccessfully for two hours, Mr. Ranade took a paper in his hands and wrote out two alternative drafts. The Rais laid their finger on one, and lo! when the draft came before the open Session of the Social Conference it was found to be stronger in favour of high education for females than the one originally drafted by us. Ranade was a master mind and, in my opinion, really great as a patriot politician.

The last incident to which I will allude concerns my ownself. One of the resolutions to be placed before the Congress dealt with the necessity of a High Court for the Punjab to take the place of its Chief Court. The turn of the resolution came at the fag end of the Session. I was asked to second it at the time when the proposer was going on with his opening oration. I agreed on the condition that I would not make a speech as I had no sufficient notice to think about what I was to say. I was taken to Mr. Allan O Hume, [the Father of the Congress] and when he urged me to speak, as there was no other supporter, I could not say nay and went to the rostrum. The proposer had already compared the High and Chief Court Acts and the only argument that I could urge scandalized the house. Speaking of the independence of the highest Courts of justice and urging that the appointments etc. of Chief Court Judges being in the hands of the Indian Viceroy they could not

be independent in the truest sense of the word, I gave a concrete example of a Small Cause Court Judge of Bombay having refused a seat on the Punjab Chief Court Bench because of its anomalous position. The masses cheered but the oligarchy at the head of the Congress movement was scandalized because being the guests of the Province they did not like to give offence to the local authorities.

This combined with the farce of Muslim delegates scared me away from the Congress for many years.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi



In and out of the Congress

IV

For full six years after the Lahore Session, I had no connection with any Congress movement. I was convinced that the fetters of slavery could not be broken asunder by drawing room politicians. In order to emancipate the motherland men of strong moral character were required. And Indians appeared to me to be fallen so low-physically, socially and morally that there was no hope of a change unless Indian humanity was resuscitated.

It was in this frame of mind that I read for the tenth time Rishi Dayananda's Satyarth Prakash and imbibed the true significance of the following precept of the Founder of the Arya Samaj (vide Chapter VIII):-

"When a country falls on evil days, the natives have to bear untold misery and suffering. Say what you will, the Swadeshiya Rajya (indigeneous native rule) is by far the best. A foreign government, perfectly free from religious prejudices, impartial towards all-the natives and foreigners a like-kind, beneficent and just to the natives like their parents though it may be, can never

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render the people perfectly happy.

It is extremely difficult to do away with differences in language, religion, education, customs and manners, but without doing that the people can never fully effect mutual good and accomplish their object. (Therefore) it behoves all good people to hold in due respect the teachings of the Veda and the Shastras and ancient history."

Acting on this precept of my spiritual guru I concentrated my energies on the preaching of one Universal Catholic Vedic Dharma as the fountain-head of all religious sects and on laying the foundation of an educational system on lines of the ancient Brahmacharya Ashram. After a struggle of some years, the Arya Samaj issued a prospectus of the Gurukula system of education and I was entrusted with the work of popularising it and collecting funds for opening an Institution on these lines.

I was touring the country on the above mission when the Congress was going to be held at Lucknow, in December 1899. I thought it a nice opportunity for sending the message of the Gurukula to the different provinces of India and reached Lucknow in time for the Congress Session with Mr. Roshan Lal, Barrister of Lahore, who went there as a delegate. I put up in the Congress Camp as a paying guest. The delegate's fee (Rs. 10/-) at that time covered also the mess expenses and sympathizing non delegates were allowed board and lodging on payment of the same sum. The Lahore Congress Secretary asked me to become a delegate as I had already paid Rs. 10/- but I declined to be a party to fraud. In spite of that, a certificate of delegacy was brought to me and I wondered at its being obtained without

my signing any paper. At this juncture the late Babu Ganga Prasad Verma noticed me and giving me a Complimentary Visitor's Ticket, took me to the dais.

Sitting on the dais, the first thing that I noticed was that the number of Muslim delegates was proportionately fourfold of what it was at Lahore in 1893. The majority of Muslim delegates had donned gold, silver or silk embroidered "chogas" (following robes) over their ordinary coarse suits of wearing apparel. It was rumoured that these "chogas" had been lent by Hindu moneyed men for Congress Tamasha. Of some 433 Muslim delegates only some 30 had come from outside; the rest belonged to Lucknow City. And of these the majority were admitted free to delegates' seats, board and lodging. Sir Syed Ahmed's anti-congress League had tried in a public meeting to dissuade Muslims from joining the Congress as delegates. As a countermove the Congress people lighted the whole Congress Camp some four nights before the session began and advertised that ingress the night would be free. The result was that all the "Chandu Khanas" of Lucknow were emptied and a huge audience of some thirty thousand Hindus and Muslims was addressed from half a dozen platforms. It was there that the Muslim delegates were elected or selected. All this was admitted by the Lucknow Congress Organizer to me in private.

A show was being made of the Muslim delegates. A Muslim delegate gets up to second a resolution in Urdu. He begins-"Hazarat! I am a Mohammedan delegate." Some Hindu gets up and calls for three cheers for Mohammadan delegates and the response is so enthusiastic as to be beyond description.

The Mohammadan delegate at once begins to lash the "anti-wallahs" right and left, the audience enjoys the entertainment and when the speaker is about to finish without reading the resolution in Urdu or even attending to it, he is approached by a Secretary and asked, in a whisper, to read the resolution. The Mohammadan delegate then acknowledges his mistake in an aside, which is audible to the whole audience, says that he would do so and haltingly reads out the Urdu translation.

The Congress was still a drawing room affair. Lokmanya Tilak had come out of Jail and was in Lucknow as a delegate. When he entered the pandal and was quietly going to sit among the Bombay delegates, some one noticed him and getting up, called for three cheers for the leader of the people. The whole audience, including those on the dais, was on its legs; only a dozen or so leading oligarchs remained sitting. The huge audience called Lokmanya to go to the dais; the faces of the oligarch leaders were white with alarm; they feared the contamination of the extremist leader. At his crisis Lokmanya refused to budge from his seat and the oligarchs were reassured. The crisis passed.

It was at Lucknow that I saw Lokmanya Tilak for half an hour during recess, an account of which interview, with my impressions of the great departed Patriot, has been contributed to his Reminiscences. He was the one real champion of Indian Swarajya among all the Carpet Knights assembled there.

Mr. Ranade was there in order to help the Political Leaders in drafting resolutions and to guide the deliberations of the Social Conference to which the title of "National" was for the

first and the last time given. It was from the very beginning a Hindu Conference but Mr. Ranade wanted to unite Hindus and Muslims in all walks of life. The only Mohammadan delegate who joined the Indian National Social Conference, was a Mufti Saheb from Barreilly. Well the Conference began. When the resolution in favour of the re-marriage of child widows was moved by a Hindu delegate and seconded by me a Sanatist Pandit opposed it. Then the Mufti Saheb asked permission to speak. The President (the late Raj Baijnath) told Mufti Saheb that as the resolution concerned Hindus only, he need not speak. At this Muftiji flared up—"Tab is-ka nam Naishanel kyun rakka hai?" There was no loophole left for the President and Mufti Saheb was allowed to have his say Mufti Saheb's argument was that as Hindu Shastras did not allow re-marriage it was a sin to press for it. Again, when the resolution about the reconversion of those who had become Christians and Musalmans came up, Mufti Saheb urged that when a man became an apostate and abandoned the Hindu religion, he ought not to be allowed to come back and contaminate the sacred Hindu Society. Well Mr. Ranade and other Hindu leaders were nonplussed, while Mufti Saheb must have been laughing in his sleeves. The next year, Mr. Ranade was seriously ill in December, and did not attend the Lahore Congress, but no one after that dared to dub the Social Conference as "National."

At the Lucknow Congress of 1899 there were other incidents connected with the moral character of Congressmen which disgusted me with the movement. In my own special Mission of the Gurukula propaganda I was completely successful. The Congress Pandal was placed at my disposal one night, the

venerable Kashmiri Pandit Shyamlal presided over the meeting which I addressed and even the politicians appeared to be impressed with the message which I gave for the resuscitation of the Ancient Aryan system of Bramhacharya.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi



In and out of the Congress

V

The next year (1900 A.D.) the Session of the Indian National Congress was a second time held at Lahore. I was so indifferent to the activities of that body that I did not go to Lahore during the time that it was holding its sitting and reached only on the day when everything was over. What took me to Lahore was the sitting of the Social Conference, which had wisely discarded its title of nationaldom and was concerned only with passing resolutions for the reform of the Hindu Society alone. Mr. Ranade being seriously ill, the task of piloting the Social barge fell on Mr. Gokhale whom I was asked to assist. Sir (then Mr.) Narayana Chandavarkar presided at the Congress Session and was soon after raised to the Bombay High Court bench. It became a common adage at the time that the Presidentship of the National Congress was the passage which led to the High Court tribunal.

Lokmanya Tilak also went to join the Lahore Session. I wanted to meet him again in order to discuss with him the place he assigned to the Vedas in the Arya polity but he was so much engaged during the one remaining day of his so-journ in the

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Punjab that I could get no opportunity of having a confidential talk with him. As regards Tilak's personality I had already formed my opinion at Lucknow, which has appeared in "Lokmanya's reminiscence" by S.V. Bapat. There I have said- "As a follower of the Vedas I wanted to meet Lokmanya personally. When the audience rose for lunch, Lokmanya alone remained sitting and I took advantage of the occasion to go and have a talk with him. I conversed with him on the interpretation of the well-known Vedic Mantra on Varna- Vyavastha and was surprised to find that his views coincided with those of Rishi Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj. (These Views have, since then been incorporated in the great scholar's Gita-Rahasya.)

I watched him keenly during the half hour that I talked to him and found that he was always meditating on something very serious in which his soul appeared absorbed. A friend- a moderate leader- speaking of Tilak had told me-"Tilak is great in intellect but- ah! his ambition is something terrible." I saw him with another eye and found that he had no personal ambition. He brooded on the wrongs of his motherland and his determination to liberate his country appeared to me to be really "terrible."

For the next six years I never happened to be at the place where the Annual Gathering of the Congress took place; but I was keenly watching the political developments in the country. And when occasion arrived I used to comment freely on these developments in my weekly Saddharma Pracharak. It was during the memorable years that the Curzonian Durbar led the way to the Partition of Bengal against which measure the agitation of the Bangalees electrified the whole of educated India. During those days the extremist party was led by a trinity called Bal-Pal-

Lal. Bal stood for Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Pal for Bipin Chandra Pal and Lal for Lala Lajpatrai. Although the father of the Moderate party in politics- I mean Sir Perozshah Mehta- was living, yet the active leader of the party was Gopal Krishna Gokhle. During the extremist- Moderate controversy, I approved of the doings of Mr. Gokhale and made no secret of my views. I was against making use of students by political leaders in their demonstrations against the British Bureaucracy. My faith in the potentiality of the Gurukula system of education, based on the foundation of Brahmacharya, was confirmed by a study of the political happenings of that period.

In the beginning of May 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai was deported. The British Bureaucracy got information that Lalaji was about to lead more than a lakh of urban and rural anarchists against the Government and that Ajit Singh acted as his lieutenant. Lalaji was considered to be the leader of the educated and the student Punjab. This was reported by the C.I.D. But facts were all the other way. When Lalaji was deported he was so unpopular among the student community that he could not dare to appear in public meetings at Lahore. Ajit Singh and his coworkers had broken loose out of his influence and there was no likelihood of his regaining his influence soon because he had been vehemently denouncing the Gurukula and its promoters immediately before the time that he was deported. But his deportation changed his whole position. Lalaji suddenly became an all India leader; among each and all he became the topmost national martyr and the Gurukulites stood up for his innocence when his own party in the Aryasamaj refused to be responsible for his actions.

It was under the above circumstances that being unable to

get a footing in the Tilakite extremist centre at Nagpur, the moderates thought of holding the session of 1907 at Surat. But after the middle of November Lalaji was suddenly brought from Mandaiay to Lahore at his residence one fine morning and released. The moderates had decided that the celebrated scholar and lawyer, Dr. Rash Behary Ghosh should preside. The extremists, led by Lokmanya Tilak, were determined to oppose Dr. Ghosh's election and meant to set up Lala Laj Pat Rai against him. I was not interested in this controversy, but the Aryasamaj people proposed to preach the Vedic Dharma that occasion and I went to Surat on their invitation. But i reached a day late and the disgraceful scene of shoe-throwing and breaking of chairs had passed away when I reached Surat the next morning. Lokmanya was putting up in a Wadi with the whole of his contingent. Leaders and followers all slept on the ground and messed together. They appeared to be knitted to each other. It was one solid body of stern puritans. Lalaji was not there and was midway between them acting the part of cement. I went to the Moderate camp and found them located in a dozen bungalows and tents enjoying every sort of luxury. I told my friends and associates then and there - "The future of the Motherland rests in the palm of the party which has been dubbed extremists."

Shraddhanand Sanyasi



In and out of the Congress

VI

In 1909 the Session of the Congress was for the third time, called at Lahore. Lala Harkishan Lal was appointed chairman of the Reception Committee, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji was to preside. It was considered to be a moderate Congress and people expected it to be a tame affair. But Lala Harkishanlal's address was not at all moderate and Mr. Gokhale's plea on behalf of the South African Indians under the leadership of Mr. (afterward Mahatma) Gandhi, was not only a masterpiece of eloquence but a soul stirring appeal to Indian patriotism. I was then defending the hundreds of Aryasamajist who had been clapped into Hajat in the Patiala State at the special instigation of the Punjab Government, and was on a visit to Lahore in connection with the same.

I joined the Congress Meeting as a visitor. The speeches were powerful and patriotic. Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, Babu Surendra Nath Banerji and Sir Ashutosh Chaudhri, among others, electrified the audience. I asked the leading advocate of

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Lahore, Sir Pratula Chandra Chatterji, to defend the Patiala accused. I offered Rs. 500/- per diem as his fee. He promised to consider my offer but could not make up his mind owing to the opposition of Lady Chatterji. Some leading Aryasamajist Counsel were approached but all had some excuse or other ready for not going to Patiala. I approached Sir A. Chaudhri and Babu Surendra Bannerji who could have promised to come for five days, including days spent if Rs. 1250/- per diem could be paid. It was only Rai Badridas M.A., Sir A. Chaudhri and Lala Dyal Das, M.A. from whom the assurance was given to us. The British bureaucracy being behind this attack on the Aryasamaj, patriotism could not make the least sacrifice for defending men whose only fault was that they never worshipped at the altar of bureaucracy.

The next session assembled at Allahabad. Sir Wiliam Wedderburn was brought all the way from England to preside. The Aryasamaj made grand preparations for preaching the Vedic Dharma on the occasion, because on account of a Unique Exhibition which was to be opened by the Government a large number of visitors was expected. I was invited by the Aryasamaj people and as Mr. Gokhale had also asked me to go to Allahabad for meeting Sir. W. Wedderburn, I had again the good fortune to attend the Congress Session as a visitor. Even the presence of Sir. W. Wedderburn was unable to infuse energy into the effete limbs of the Congress.

A Hindu-Muslim conciliation board also sat to devise means

for Unity. I joined the deliberations at the special request of Sir William. The final meeting was held under the joint presidentship of their highnesses of Durbhanga and Sultan Sir Agha. Everybody conceived something but their joint efforts brought forth nothing. There was a somewhat warm discussion on Urdu v/s. Hindi question. One Mohammedan gentleman affirmed that unless Urdu was acknowledged to be the Lingua Franco of India, there could be no understanding with the Hindus.

In the Social Conference the question of the so-called untouchables being counted as Hindus during the coming census came up for discussion. The orthodox Hindu leaders were awakened from their lethargy and laid forth on their being with and kin of the Hindu Society. I was also asked to speak. I told the Hindus plainly that they ought to have awakened long ago. I further tried to impress upon them the necessity of giving the so-called untouchables full social and religious rights as a matter of bare justice and that they should not act on selfish principle of adding to their political importance.

After this I took no notice of the activities of the Congress for six long years. During this interval I attended the Coronation ceremony of King George V Emperor of India, as a press representative. Sir James (now Lord) Meston paid three visits to the Gurukula; Lord Hardinge gave three lengthy interviews to me in order to discuss the Gurukula system of education and Lord Chelmsford paid a visit to the Gurukula at the end of October 1916. Mahatma Gandhi had come to the Gurukula in April 1915

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in order to take away his Phoenix Gurukula boys from Kangri, where they had been for some months, awaiting the arrival of their Acharya, the Great Mahatma.

The session of December 1916, at Lucknow, was a memorable one. It was there that the Moderates and the Extremists were reconciled. The Venerable Babu Ambicacharan Muzumdar president. The gathering was unique. Some well-know Muhammadan leader also joined and the well-know Hindu-Muslim political pact was entered into. The enthusiasm was at the highest pitch. It appeared that political India had found its soul. As leader after leader came to the rostrum, every sentence he uttered was received with resounding cheers. Surendra Babu's denunciation of the coming Governor of Bengal, Mrs. Annie Besant's dubbing of the English as colourless people, Sadhu Mazhar-ul-Haq's straight-forward appeal to Muslims, the Rajah of Mahmoodabad's patriotic response-every word was drunk by willing ears. At last Lokmanya Tilak stood up in his simple Dhoti and Maratha Slippers. He was given an ovation and then the audience was hushed into silence. Simple sentences came out of his mouth slowly in natural tones and every word that he uttered was gathered up silently by the assembled thousands. Among other things, he said-"The British tell us that we, descendants of the Aryans, are not the original owners of the soil. We took the country from the Aborigines; the Muslims conquered it from the Aryans and the English conquered it from the Muslims. Hence the British are the guardians of the Aborigines. Well, I agree to this and ask the British to clear out bag and baggage and deliver

possession of the country to Bhils, Gonds and Adi- Dravids &c. We will gladly serve the owners of the soil." There was laughter and cheers. But when explaining further he said in his natural, simple voice: "Home rule is my birth-right and I will have it" the whole Pandal resounded with one combined resonant voice. The came of enthusiasm was reached and the whole house was brought down.

I attended the Lucknow sitting of the Congress also as a visitor but behind the scenes I had to do something with the negotiation that were going on. The new Hindu-Muslim pact was privately discussed in my presence. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Mr. C.Y. Chintamani were, both, against the pact. They could not agree to communal representation and communal votings. In informal talks I, too, was in agreement with their views. The next matter with which I had something to do was the Meston-Marries-Curtis circular containing the germs of dyarchy in their recommendation for the coming reforms. Lord Meston specially invited me to his house and asked me to hear Mr. Curtis who was very much put out by his proposal seeing the light of day. I heard him patiently for more than an hour and promised to introduce him to Mahatma Gandhi the next day. I fulfilled my promise and got full opportunity for him to lay his case before Gandhiji. But in the meantime Mr. Pollock of South African fame came in and spoiled the work of Mr. Curtis's defence.

Lord Meston called me to help Mr. Curtis because it was

partly on my advice that he attended the Congress Session, where the exposed circular was commented on in bad taste. In spite of all the enthusiasm that was in evidence I was not at all drawn towards the Congress Programme at Lucknow and considered the work in which I was engaged to be the only means of salvation of the motherland.

·Shraddhanand Sanyasi



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VII

In 1917 Mrs. (now Dr.) Annie Besant was selected to preside over the deliberations of the Congress to be held at Calcutta. She had tried to reconcile Tilak and Gokhale and had laid the foundation of her Home-rule League. She was Extremely popular at the time. All her vagaries in connection with the Theosophical propaganda had been forgotten and Indian politicians were in the palm of her hands, for the time being. It was at such a time that she was taken to a sanitarium and there interned by Lord Pentland. The agitation against the bureaucracy was intense and political India was at its wits' end how to checkmate this cunning move of its enemies. I wrote in my Weekly advising the Congress business to go on undisturbed, to ask Mrs. Besant to write out have presidential address and, placing her portrait on the presidential chair, to have her address read and then to go on passing resolutions. My advice was generally approved by the Press but the time for following it never came, because Mrs. Besant was released before it could be put in to practice.

Before the session of 1918 met at Delhi, Mr. Montagu had come and held discussions with Indian political leaders as

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regards the Reforms to be introduced for leading the country on to self-government. It was a move at the right time because political Indian had helped the British Government in its struggle for Commercial and Economic supremacy with the over-awing German power. Every leader was on tiptoe of expectation to be consulted. But the advice which gave to those of the political leaders whom I knew was to avoid giving any detailed opinion in a round table conference. What I wrote to them, in substance was this—"The British are born diplomats. Their diplomacy has dominated both the hemispheres for the last 1000 years. The unsophisticated Indian politician can not hold his own in round table conferences with them. I advise you therefore, to avoid separate conferences with Mr. Montagu. Let all deliberate together and place your joint demand before him asking him to devise means in order to lighten the burden on the Indian taxpayer."

My advice fell on deaf ears. And how could political leaders of the people pay the least heed to the advice of a man who, besides being obsessed with religious mania, was outside their charmed circle? Mr. Montagu's Private Secretary, Mr. Kisch, met me at Hardwar. He was introduced to me by his friend Mr. C. Hobart, a great admirer of the Gurukula, and that time Joint Magistrate of Roorkee. We had a very interesting talk about the coming reforms. He put before me the difficulties in the way of Mr. Montagu and I tried to combat them. When asked how to get ride of the difficulty of giving the power of legislation to people who had no hand in putting that law into practice, my reply was that if all the members of the Executive Council be elected by the Legislature and be held responsible to that body there could not be any real conflict of interests. I advised Mr. Kisch to induce Mr. Montagu to meet Mahatma Gandhi. I heard afterwards that Mr. Montagu did meet Gandhiji but instead of giving any advice as to the practicability of the intended reforms,

Mahatma Gandhi said, in substance- "My country is awfully poor and your administration is terribly expensive. If you want to give any reward to India for services rendered during the war, do lighten the burden of taxation." If this rumour has any legs to stand upon, who can deny that Mahatma Gandhi was the only man who grasped the situation and gave a statesman-like advice?

It was under the abovementioned circumstances that the Congress met at Delhi in the last week of December 1918. All the parties-Moderates, Extremists, Home Rulers &c.- mustered strong and every voice was heard to exclaim- "Westward do!" The advice that Congress alone should send a deputation was brushed a side and every party sent its own representatives to England. I was not the least interested in all this. Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya presided for the third time and Hakeem Ajmal Khan was Chairman of the Reception Committee. I attended only one day, as a visitor, of course, and saw enough to make me keep away afterwards. I saw two young extremists from the Punjab bringing down the house by their fallacious declamations and perorations; I knew their private characters and when later they came into the grip of the Marital law and were clapped in Jail they did not scruple in climbing down to the most degrading devices for the purpose of coming out of Jail.

Well, the Congress Session was over and, forgetting all about it and the activities of its promoters, gave myself up to the literary programme chalked out by me two years before, at the time of my entering the Sanyas Ashram. But

"Man proposes, God disposes."

The Rowlatt Bills had been placed before the Viceroy's Council and the Indian people were astounded to find stones served out to them in place of the delicious dishes which they

had been expecting. The agitation created was not only widespread but intense also. A daily Hindi- "Vijaya" - was started under my patronage and edited by Professor Indra Vidiyavachaspati, a graduate of the Gurukula. It roused the masses, not only in Delhi but in all the adjoining Districts of the Punjab, the whole of the U.P., the C.P., Rajasthan and Bihar &c. Thousands of copies were daily printed but still then demand was not satisfied. That paper was the first to take up the cudgels on behalf of Turkey and to induce the Hindus to join hands with the Muslim brethren in defending that cause. If official news is to be believed, Lord Chelmsford's one count against me in his correspondence with Mr. Montagu was that my son was editing this rabid Hindi Paper which was giving a great deal of trouble to the authorities.

On the threshold of politics.

The session of the victory's council; that year was principally taken up by the consideration of these two Bills. Almost all Indian Members showed a united front. Mr. Srinivas Shastri had delivered a splendid speech. His arguments were unanswerable. Every patriot spoke with fervour and logic but Mr. Shastri's speech appeared to me the most forceful. But the Government was stubborn and moved not an inch. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya came to me with a message that all the members proposed walking out if there was no response on behalf of the Government at the end, but that they were not sure of Mr. Shastri. I was asked to work upon him, because they knew that through my relations with the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale, I had some influence with Mr. Shastri. I went to see him in the Metcalfe House. On my being seated Mr. Shastri said- "Have you seen the new vagary of your Mahatma Gandhi? Please read this. I must issue my protest against it." The words are indelibly fixed in my memory.

The issue of the 'Leader,' in which Mahatma Gandhi's plea for Satyagrah was published, was handed over to me. After reading merely the preamble I said- "It is the first principle of human rights. I, myself, am ready to sign it. Did not Gandhiji consult any of you before issuing his manifesto?" The reply was that not only this- that Gandhiji sent round his manifesto to all the Council members and even to the Viceroy but that he asked them to convince him if he was in the wrong. He was open to conviction. I urged Mr. Shastri not to stand in the way of a just cause, and said:- "Why should you go out of your way to protest against a measure for which you are not responsible? If you do not agree with Gandhi's views, you may not join the movement." Mr. Shastri's reply was that he must publish his own protest against Gandhi's Ukase and my counter reply was that I must wire at once to Mahatma Gandhi that I had signed the vow of Satyagrah as a protest against the Rowlatt bills.

In the Satyagrah Army.

When I came back to my Ashrama I opened that day's 'Leader' and found Mr. Shastri's protest Ukase already there. I at once sent the following telegram to Mahatma Gandhi: "Have signed Satyagrah vow just now. Glad to join in this Dharma Yudha." While my telegram was on its way to Mahatma Gandhi, he himself was on his way to Delhi. The next day Gandhiji reached Delhi and put up with Principal Rudra of the St. Stephen's College Delhi. Why he put up with Mr. Rudra rather than with any other person in Delhi, the following letter addressed to me will explain -

"Phoenix, Natal, 21st October 1914.

Dear Mahatmaji,

Mr. Andrews has familiarised your name and your work to

me. I feel that I am writing to no stranger. I hope, therefore, that you will pardon me addressing you by the title which both Mr. Andrews and I have used in discussing you and your work. Mr. Andrews told also how you, Gurudeva and Mr. Rudra had influenced him. He described to me the work your pupils did for the Passive resisters and gave such word pictures of the life at Gurukula that as I am writing this I seem to be transported to the Gurukula. Indeed he has made me impatient to visit the three places described by Mr. Andrews and to pay me respects to the three gold sons of India who are at the head to these institutions.

I remain,

Yours, Mohandas K. Gandhi."

Some of the allusions in the above letter require elucidation. In 1914 Gandhiji had again revived passive resistance in South Africa. Mr. Gokhale had appealed for some lakhs to help the passive resisters but response was not coming. The Brahmacharies of the Gurukula collected about Rs. 1500 by denying themselves milk and ghee for a month and by working on the Hardwar Bund as common labourers during three day's holiday. This money was wired to Mr. Gokhale and the message reached him when he was on the point of despair. In talking of my disciples he alludes to that. By Gurudeva he means the world poet Dr. Ravindranath Tagore. This letter was the first that I received from the Mahatma as I dubbed him afterwards when he went to the Gurukula in April 1915. and it was the last that he addressed to me in English. The reason was that I sent my reply in Hindi with the remarks that one who wanted to make Hindi the *rashtra-bhasha* (national language) had no right to correspond with his countrymen in a foreign language.

Shraddhanand Sanyasi



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VIII

To resume the thread of my story.

I joined the Satyagrah Army without reading the whole constitution of the movement. The Committee which was to decide the nature of the laws to be disobeyed was organised at Bombay. In a way the movement was centralized. But in my opinion local freedom was necessary in order to make the disobedience of laws effective.

I asked the Mahatma to let me know his proposals and scheme of work. He told me that a beginning was to be made by selling publicly proscribed literature after informing the Police. I thought that the astute bureaucracy will laugh out the move and put my own proposals before Mahatmaji. My first proposal was to start Panchayet Adalats (arbitration boards) and thus boycott the British Courts indirectly. My second proposal was to prepare at least ten districts for refusal to pay land-revenue and taxes simultaneously by October 1919, when the first instalment of Kharif revenue would fall due. I promised to prepare five Districts in the Punjab, where Hindu Jats were predominant and asked him to prepare the same number of Districts in Gujrat Province, where his influence, on account of Kaira District and Ahmedabad Mills Satyagrah was all that could be

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desired. But Mahatmaji smiled and said- "Bhai sahab! You will acknowledge that I am an expert in Satyagrah business. I know what I am about." There could be no gainsaying the fact and I bowed my head to his decision.

There was another difficulty. No Local Satyagrah Committee could begin work without the sanction of the head Sabha at Bombay. And that too was necessary, in Mahatmaji's view, in order to maintain discipline.

A Satyagrah Sabha was established at Delhi of which Dr. M.A. Ansari became the President, Dr. Abdur Rahman and Pandit Indra became Secretaries and Lala Shankarlal was appointed Treasurer. The new disciples had a very interesting and instructive talk with Mahatma Gandhi. While Mahatmaji was explaining the Satyagrah aphorisms (Sutras) to Hindus and Muslim alike a prominent Muslim leader said- "Mahatmaji ! How can you expect a Musalman, who eats at least half a seer of flesh daily, to act like a Satyagrahi ? A Muslim is unaccustomed to suffer beatings like a lamb and he cannot but turn Duragrahi at the end." Mahatmaji smiled and said- "Bhai- They will come round by and by."

A public meeting was called for 7th March 1919 and after Mahatmaji's speech had been read by Mr. Mahadeva Desai, he left to see the Viceroy and the Home Member with whom an appointment had been previously made. Mahatmaji went to intercede for the release of the Ali Brothers who were then interned in Chindwara. It was the first time, after more than a quarter of a century, that I stood up to speak on a political subject. The gathering was about 18,000. The public was astonished to see me on my legs. I gave free vent to my feelings and urged that the movement was more Dharmic than political. The Arya Samajists appeared to be thunder struck, but except a single-exception all came round to my views and gradually even

those who were in the front rank in religious discussions were attracted towards the movement. It was a sight for the gods to see Pandit Ramchandra Mahopadeshak of the Arya Samaj and Maulvi Ahmad Sayeed waiz (preacher) of the Mahammadan Church-both redoubtable champions of their several faiths-sitting side by side and supporting each other in their tirades against the British bureaucracy. In the beginning I was only a member of the Satyagrah Sabha executive and on 10th March left Delhi for Baroda and Bombay in order of study the Technical and Industrial institutions of those places for drawing up a scheme of Techno-industrial course of instruction in connection with the Gurukula University (Vishv Vidyalaya) at Kangri. The 11th and 12th of March were devoted to the study of the Kalabhawan at Baroda. On 13th I reached Bombay where Mahatma Gandhi was already guiding the movement. A mass meeting was held on the seashore at Chaupati. It was a huge audience that assembled to hear the Apostle of Satyagrah. Mahatmaji being still weak, his written address was read by another. At Mahatmaji's special request I also spoke with Mr. Horniman and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. I was at once caught by the Bombayites in the net of this new movement and had to give up my intended visit to the Tata Institute at Bangalore and to the other Madras and Bengal technical institutions. I had to speak at five different places in Bombay. Mahatmaji was asked to go Madras, but the anniversary of his success in getting a substantial increase in the wages of the Mill-hands on that day. I was asked by Mahatma Gandhi to act as his substitute and I left Bombay for Surat on the evening of 17th and 18th March. I spoke at Surat to 10000 people assembled in Maidan. On 19th I broke journey at Broach, where an enthusiastic meeting was addressed. On 20th morning I reached Ahmedabad. In the afternoon a huge audience numbering about thirty thousand, chiefly mill-hands, assembled on the banks of Sabarmati to celebrate the first anniversary

of the success of Satyagrah meeting was held attended by not less than 15,000 souls. It was the report of my lecture at that place which upset Lord Chelmsford and compelled him to cable his memorable message to Mr. Montagu in which he specially mentioned the fact of my joining hands with Gandhiji.

On 21st March 1919, I left Sabarmati by the morning mail and reached Delhi the next forenoon. I was surprised to find that the whole agitation had subsided and not one single meeting was held in my absence. The work of signing the Satyagrah vow was also at a standstill. A meeting was advertised for 24th March evening. The audience had fallen to 5000. Dr. Ansari presided. In that meeting I asked the audience to sign the vow in large numbers and exhorted the Satyagrahis to remain non-violent and calm under all conditions and not to play in the hands of Sir William Vincent, the Home Member who had prophesied in the Council Chamber that non-violence will lead to violence- Another meeting was called for 27th March 1919, being the second Sunday after the Rowlatt Act was signed by the Viceroy. It was to be a day of humiliation and fasting when all business was to be suspended, people were to fast and hold protest meetings against the Rowlatt Act and for petitioning the King Emperor to veto the passed Bill. To these conditions contained in Mahatma Gandhi's manifesto I added one more, namely- "Every person should on that day meditate for half an hour and pray to Paramatma that He may turn the hearts of our opponents." And to emphasize this condition I said "With the exercise of will-power we could impress the hearts even of King-Emperor George, the premier and Mr. Montagu sitting in England." A poster giving Instructions for the observance of the day of humiliation was sent round and published in the local dailies. It ran as follows -

What is to be done?

- (1) The 30th of March should be celebrated as a day of morning.
- (2) Beginning from the night of March 29th all should fast till the night of 30th March.
- (3) After finishing all other daily duties, should sit in a quiet place and should pray to the Parmatama that He might give us the power of endurance, guide our Sarkar in the path of rectitude and put an end to the troubles of Mother Bharat.
- (4) Closing all business and shops etc., should spend the day in wishing well for the country, in reforming his own mind and in philanthropic work.
- (5) Every woman, man and child should attend the evening meeting at 5 O'clock".

The Delhi Morning Post dated 30th March 1919 came out in the evening of 29th with a leading article on this in which it most mischievously suggested that the Delhi leaders were inducing people to fast so that they might be lashed to fury. We again held another preliminary meeting on March 29th in which a speaker read out and commented on the leading article of the Morning Post. I was presiding on that day also and remembering the concluding speech of Sir William Vincent in the Imperial Legislative Council of India at the passing of the Rowlat bill into Act where he had insinuated that Passive Resistance was sure to be turned into Active resistance by men other than Mr. Gandhi, I made the following prophetic remarks in my concluding speech. I asked, "The suggestion of the Anglo-Indian Paper may have a hidden meaning. The Local authorities might try to prove Sir William Vincent a true prophet and therefore I exhort you all not to allow them to make you a scapegoat in this" What occurred on the 30th of March 1919, to my knowledge, was

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written by me on the morning of the 31st of March, 1919, at the request of the Reporter of the Associated Press at Delhi, when all occurrences were fresh in my memory. That statement I now put before the public as made to the Hunter Committee at Delhi.

Incidents of March 30th 1919.

"On Sunday, March 30th, every shop and business place was closed from the Morning. Returning from the Morning service in the local Aryasamaj Mandir, I patrolled through the city. Tramcars had ceased plying because non would use them and even tangos etc. had stopped and all was quiet with thousands of peaceful subjects walking on the foot-paths. I returned to my place after 12 A.M., intending to go to the meeting after four.

At two, some gentlemen came running from the Railway Station saying that as some people asked the Station Shops to close, a European Railway official came and threatened them. When told it was no business of his to interfere, he had whistled to the police, who took two men out of the collected mass in custody. The Masses said that if their men were given up they could go away. Then the Police began to belabour them with sticks and Soldiers with a Machine-gun were arriving when they left to report to me.

Firing near the Railway Station.

I left on foot immediately for the Railway Station. There I heard that the Machine gun had fired indiscriminately and about a dozen had either been killed or wounded, the bodies being dragged into the station yard. Those hit included a Railway passenger with one woman, so they said.

I saw Goorkhas coming running from the opposite side. British soldiers were already there. I went to some Europeans of

whom one was Mr. Curiae, City Magistrate, and asked them to tell me the true facts. They treated me with indifference, Mr. Curiae actually turning his back upon me. I told him that I was taking the people away to the meeting ground, although early, and he ought not to irritate people by making a display of military and machine guns. The whole crowd, some three to four thousand followed and thousands had preceded us and about 15 thousand assembled on the Peoples' park grounds.

Firing near the Clock-Tower

The number was swelling and had risen to 25000 and I was addressing them, exhorting them to act like Satyagrahis and to control their sorrow and anger, when intelligence reached that GORA (British) soldiers had fired near the Clock-Tower and that another dozen or so had been pierced with bullets. Some began to be excited and again managed to pacify them.

The military and the protest meeting.

But then two British military officers on horse-back came in full speed with some sowars and wanted to talk to me. I went out and asked the officers the meaning of this interference. I said that it was a meeting of peaceful citizens and they were exasperating the people by a show of military aggression. The officer said he would not interfere with the peaceful meeting but a brick-bat had just passed him. I replied that I had not noticed any brick-bat passing and asked the audience who said they had noticed nothing. The officer went away with the sowars., saying that it was not their object to disperse a peaceful meeting.

The Cheif Commissioner and the Protest Meeting.

The crowd was, becoming huge and after putting up a platform in the maidan, we removed there. The crowd (some 40,000 people,) had hardly settled itself and after exhorting them in the name of Satyagrah to remain calm I had hardly com-

menced a prayer to the Alimighty when the same sowars came galloping again with a Muhammad police officer, Mr. Currie and the Cheif Commissioner. In the mean-time a machine gun had rattled to the very door of the meeting in the maidan. I came down from the platform and had to go to the Cheif Commissioner who asked me what we were going to do and how long the meeting would last. I answered that a resolution of protest against the Rowlatt Bills would be sent to Mr. Montagu and the meeting would last till 6:30 P.M. He asked me about the speakers and their names were given. Then he told me that if I gave an assurance that the feelings of the people would not be stirred and that the crowd would quietly disperse to their homes, he would not interfere with the meeting.

In reply I said, "I am personally responsible and I had been pacifying those whose relatives had been shot and wounded, but if on our way back your military give trouble again I will not be responsible. Then the responsibility will rest with you." I explained all the facts and said: "Intelligence has come that a machine gun again discharged a volley near the Clock-Tower" The Cheif Commissioner said in reply that no machine gun was fired near the Clock-Tower. I said in that case I could reassure the people saying that no people had been injured near the Clock-Tower. The Cheif Commissioner, on this, quietly said that rifles had been fired and not a machine gun. Then came further enquiry from me, "Was any body injured"? The reply was "I do not know and therefore cannot say."

Then the Cheif Commissioner told me to give a message of his to the people to act on the instructions of Mr. Gandhi and create no disturbance. I was all along speaking in a loud voice which thousands heard. Then I mounted the plateform and asked the assembled people about what I had been telling them. They all said that they would never depart from the principles of Satyagrah. Whatever oppression they suffered they would bear

with patience.

The Cheif Commissioner went away saying that if the meeting dispersed quietly, neither the military nor the police would interfere. The meeting then went on. The resolution to be sent to Mr. Montagu was adopted unanimously.

People calm under Extreme provocation.

I asked the huge audience to follow me and to leave quietly when nearing their residences. We were walking in order. When we were nearing the Clock-Tower, Goorkhas were in the middle of the road in double file facing both ways. On seeing us they marched to the right food-board. We thought they had left the road in order to enable us to proceed but when we reached near them, a rifle was fired into the crowd. There was a stir and a deep tone of resentment among the crowd. But I asked all to halt and they obeyed. In my Sanyasi-dress I went up to the foot-path alone and asked the Goorkhas why they were firing on innocent peaceful people. Two rifles were immediately pointed at me and they began saying in a very insolent tone "tum ko ched denge" (We will pierce you.) I stood quietly before them and said "Main khara hun, goli maro" (I am standing, fire). At once eight or ten more rifles were aimed at my breast and insolent threats went on.

The crowd could contain itself no longer and was about to rush, when a wave of my hand and a short appeal to their Vow stopped them. But they were saying "let us die and not you, let us die." The rifles had remained pointed at my breast for some three minutes when a European on horseback approached and asked the only policeman present whether he had ordered the firing. I stepped forward and asked the European officer whether he had heard the rifle fire. He impatiently answered that he was enquiring about it. I found afterwards that the officer was Mr. P.L. Orde of the C.I.D. Police.

I left with the people. A Goorkha came near me brandishing his Khukri right and left. He was literally laughed out and left crestfallen. An armoured car was rattling away encircling us with the gun constantly pointed at us, but nobody was either cowed down or impatient. The crowd left for their several homes after taking affectionate leave of me.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi



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IX

The whole of Sunday (30th March) night was passed by me without a wink of sleep. The dead body of a Muslim Martyr was somehow obtained by the Billi Maran Brethren and was placed in a mosque. The authorities, getting scent of the fact, made repeated raids on the mosque threatening to shoot the mourners if the dead body was not delivered. Intelligence of this and other occurrences was hourly coming to me and I all along advised the people to remain firm. At last the authorities gave up their game of bluff and the Janaza (tabut bier) of the martyr was flowed by thousands. The bier of another Muslim Martyr met us on the way and both were taken to the burial ground accompanied by not less than 35 thousand, Musulmans and Hindus. Our rear was brought up by armoured card which rattled to the very graveyard. Hakeem Ajmal Khan and myself met for the first time at the martyr's feet and from that day we became like brothers to each other. The people kept their temper well and when Hakeem Ajmal Khan and I harangued them for self-restraint and asked them to open their shops they all agreed with one voice. But while we were thinking of getting the shops opened in the

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afternoon the dead bodies of some of those massacred and wounded at the Railway Station and near the Townhall were recovered through the intercession of a deputation of city-fathers, which waited upon the Chief Commissioner. Out of the dead bodies that were thus recovered two biers went to the graveyards followed by 15000 men among whom Hindus predominated and three went to the Hindu Cremation ground followed by some thirty thousand among whom there was a predominance of Mosalmans. I was compelled by the Musalman leaders to go with the Hindu biers and several of them accompanied me to the cremation grounds. The sight was wonderful. The Muslim biers went mainly carried on Hindu shoulders and the Hindu biers were supported by Muslim shoulders. And the beauty of it was that none of the bier carriers afterwards repented or apologised for having given shoulder (Khandha diya) to a Kafir's Janaza or to a mlecha's arthis. As the Janaza was topped in the morning for prayers for dead and some Mullahs asked me and other Hindus to turn our faces away from them, the Imam with us came running and stopped them saying :- 'Swamiji ! we are all god's people. We want you to join our prayers'; and I did join them with all my heart.

So far Satyagrah reigned supreme. Although the relations of the dead were in great greet and all people were in morning there was no sign of hostility or violence towards the Government. On the cremation ground I exhorted the people to open their shops and begin business from the next morning. I had not tasted any food or drink since the morning and was thinking of doing so when I was again wanted at Dr. Abdur Rahman's for consultation. Dr. M.A. Ansari was still absent from Delhi and some President was required for taking executive responsibilities

in order to face the Government and to lead the people; so, in the absence of Dr. Ansari, I agreed to act as President and when Dr. Ansari came back on the 1st of April, he insisted on my remaining President of the local Satyagrah Sabha.

On Tuesday (1st April 1919) morning I reached the clock-Tower rather early. Some 2000 persons assembled within 5 minutes and I exhorted them to go and open their shops. They were about to leave when some of the pointed towards the Townhall where the Military were being provokingly displayed and strong Police guards were stationed at both the gates of the Municipal Gardens, facing the Chandni Chowk. By this time Hakeem Ajmal Khan had also arrived and the crowd has increased to 5000. Hakeem Sahab and I asked the Sentries to unlock one of the doors and going in asked Mr. P.L. Orde, the C.I.D. Police Superintendent, to take away the Military out of sight so that we might feel no difficulty in having the shops opened. Mr. Orde said he would consult the Deputy Commissioner and went on the phone. He returned after a short while and ordered the Military to go out of sight. After thanking Mr. Orde we left.

All the leaders of the people now made a round of the City and by 12 noon all the shops (even in the remotest parts) were opened and business was resumed. While I was returning from the Suiwala Bazar, after having the last shop opened, I got intelligence that the Military and the Police were again in evidence near the Clock-Tower Bazar. I hastened to the place alone and found a posse of armed police, some Cavalry and Infantry in the Chowk with the Military Commanding Officer on horseback and Mr. Orde on foot

I asked Mr. Orde the meaning of this and he replied that

as the leaders had not succeeded in getting the shops opened and as a great crowd had assembled he was obliged to requisition the Military and the armed Police. I asked the people why they were there and their reply was that they were simply attracted by the sight of the Military and that all the shops had remained open but when the Military came some of the shops closed again for very fear. I asked Mr. Orde to move away with the Military and the Police and I would be responsible for the crowd. I also said that if the Military remained provokingly in sight he would be responsible for any disturbance that occurred. Mr. Orde at once complied with my request and the whole crowd dispersed within ten minutes.

At 1p.m. I took a glass of water and again motored round the whole city. Business was going on and people appeared calm. I was returning to my place when intelligence reached me the Viceregal special had arrived at 3 pm and that the local authorities were having a talk with the Viceroy at the Delhi Junction Railway Station. No conveyance being available I walked to the Railway Station but the Viceroy's special had left before I reached there. I had gone with a view to request the Viceroy to get down and pay a visit to the wounded in the General Hospital which would ease the situation, but that was not to be. I was sadly disappointed but was reassured a little by the news that His Excellency ordered a Non-official Committee of inquiry to go into the whole affair. But my astonishment and consequent disappointment was complete when subsequently the Viceregal Communique reproduced the one-sided report of the local authorities verbatim.

I returned to my ashram at about 7 pm and took my food about 8 pm. Then for full three hours consultations went on and

application for deciding cases, as sole arbitrator, were received. At 11 pm I went to bed and getting up at 2-30 am, I went through my daily morning programme up to 5 am and immediately after left for the city. This remained my programme of work till the 19th of April, 1919, on which day the Hartal finally came to an end. One sherbat or water drink after noon and one meal at eight in the night was the order of the day. And on Sundays I kept up my 24 hours' fast till the Rowlatt Act was repealed. The 2nd and 3rd of April passed smoothly, except for a remark of Colonel Beadon, Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, which went round purporting to express regret that those who ought to have been shot were roaming freely. The allusion was to myself and my Satyagrahi colleagues. There was one result of the fraternization of Hindus and Muslims. Thefts and aftrays were at an end, drunkards fought shy of grogshops, and even gambling dens were deserted. For full 20 days it appeared that Ramraj had set in. Two intricate civil cases had been pending for the last 5 years. Hakeem Sahib referred the cases to my sole arbitration. In one case Hindus were opposed to Muslims. The enquiry was simple enough. I went to the parties' Mohallah; both spoke out the truth and signed a Compromise deed dictated by me. The decree was executed at once without having recourse to the British Law Courts. There was a disturbance in Kinari Bazar. I referred the matter to Lala Bulaqu Das. The offending party, although high caste men, apologised and paid something to the Satyagrah funds and a report was sent to me. I do not know exactly how many cases were finally decided by Hakeem Ajmal Khan Saheb, but I remember having decided more than two dozen cases which would have dragged on in the British Courts for years.

The Hindu-Muslim fraternization was some thing wonder-

ful. All doubts and suspicions were set at rest. A typical case will illustrate my meaning. A Hindu trader was walking with five rupee currency notes in his pocket. One such note was invitingly exposed. A 14 years old Muslim boy in passing, put his fingers on the note and took it away. The sentry on duty arrested him and took him running to the Hindu- "Sir, the rascal took this note from your pocket." The Lala looked at the lad with compassion and taking out his bundle of notes, deliberately counted them and said that his notes were complete. The Lala insisted on the boy being released. When the Lala turned to another lane, the poor boy placed the note in his hands, fell at his feet, and blurted out- "Sir ! my old mother and my little sister had nothing to eat since two days ago and I am out of employment on account of the Hartal. This led me into temptation. Sir, pardon me." The Hindu trader, who perhaps never suffered from a twinge of conscience before, was overpowered- "My son ! this note belongs to you. Come with me and I will give you some present for your mother." The boy was taken to the Hindu's house and got some flour, ghee and dal with which he brought consolation to a disconsolate house. This occurred on 12th of April when hartal was in full swing and the whole story was related to me by Bashir himself. Goondas had ceased to exist; every Hindu woman was treated like his own mother sister or daughter, by every Musalman and vice versa. O ! for a week of that old spirit to dominate Delhi, so that a reaction against the present unholy spirit might begin and permeate the whole of India.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi



In and out of the Congress

X.

The 4th of April was a red letter day in Delhi. It was the first Friday after the indiscriminate shooting and congregational prayers were to be offered in the great Jumma Masjid. A notice had been sent round by responsible Musalamans inviting the public to join the Memorial Meeting called for invoking God's blessings on the Hindu-Muslim Martyrs.

Entry into the Juma Masjid.

As usual I was making a round of the City when scores of Hindu gentlemen told me that our Musalman brethren insisted on the Hindus going inside the Masjid and joining the Memorial Meeting and asked my advice as to the curse they should adopt. The reason of the enquiry was this. Non-Muslims had no right of entry into the great mosque without the sanction of the Mosque Managing Committee, especially when nimaz was going on. I asked them to wait and went to consult Mr. Abdul Rahman Vakeel whose office was close by. Mr. Abdur Rahman advised me not to go without consulting Hakeem Saheb. As Hakeem Saheb was not at home I returned to my ashram determined not to go out till Nimaz and memorial service was over by 2 O'clock.

The Liberator, Vol. I No.10, Delhi, Thursday 3rd June 1926.

I was busy writing when by one p.m. about 50 Musalman gentlemen boarded my humble lodgings and lovingly forced me down. A tango was waiting. In the way they requisitioned several conveyances one faster than the other till an empty motor was found. I was then hurried on and reached the southern steps of the Jamma Masjid. I saw some people about to come down but when they saw me ascending the steps shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi ki Jaya" and "Hindu-Musalman ki Jaya" went forth and all of them turned back. The gathering inside could not be less than 30 thousand. I was going to sit behind the last man when other Musalman brethren came running and took me inside the buildings and then outside, where a permanent wooden pulpit stood for the preachers' use. Maulvie Abdul Majeed was addressing the audience. He stopped waiting for me to go up. I hesitated. A hundred voices urged me to go up. After ascending two steps I again hesitated. The huge audience was up on its legs and with one voice called upon me to go up. When I reached the pulpit they sat down.

I expected Maulvie Abdul Majeed to go on with his sermon. But he stopped with the remark: "You have heard what the Quran Majeed says about the blood of the martyrs. Swami Shraddhanad will now tell you that the Holy Veda which is believed to be the revelation according to our Hindu brethren, inoculates the same teachings." It was a sudden call. I had to stand up. I recited the Vedic verse which inculcated the Fatherhood and the Motherhood God.

त्वं हिं नः पिता वसो त्वं माता शतक्रतो बभूविथः ।
अघाते सुमनमीमहे ।।

I called upon the huge audience to bear testimony to the innocence of the martyrs and ended with calling upon them to

fall at the feet of Him who was the Father and the Mother of all. I recited the following from the Urdu poet :-

"Hindu ne sanam men jalwa paya tera.

Atish pai fighan ne ras gaya tera.

Dehri ne kiya dehr se tabir tujhe.

Inkar kisi se ban na aya tera."

Those who were present can well describe the scene. And when I thrice repeated. "Om shantih, Ameen !" and the whole audience followed me with one reverberating voice, it was an invigorating spectacle. I came down and left with the audience whose faces showed how impressed they were.

This was followed by Hindu Sabhas addressing from Muslim pulpits in Masjids and Musalman divines addressing mixed audiences in Hindu Temples, in all parts of the country. In spite of all that has occurred after that grand scene I am still impressed with its memory and am living in the hope that clouds of doubt will disappear and the bright light of the sun of Faith and Truth will shine forth again with all its splendour.

Inside this beautiful scene was being acted and outside the great mosque the armoured cars and the Military and the Police were provokingly in evidence. But the people, exhorted by their leaders, kept their temper admirably.

The same evening, Lt. Colonel Beadon, the Deputy Commissioner, called a meeting of the Government officials and the Raikes of the city and read out his memorable printed notice to the public dated 2nd April in which he called the crowd which had assembled on the Railway station as a mob of Badmashes. In the evening the same printed notice was posted at different parts of the city and there was great commotion. Then Lt.

Colonel Beadon published a notice calling upon the relations of the killed and the wounded to go and lay their grievances before him at the Townhall. But people had lost all faith in his justice and nobody responded to the call. The local Satyagrah Sabha drafted a reply to Lt. Colonel Beadon's incorrect statement and issued a counter-notice which was distributed on the morning of April 6th, 1919. This reply of the Satyagrah Sabha will show that as we, in Delhi, had already celebrated the day of humiliation and prayer on March 30th, we proposed simply to hold a protest meeting in the evening and had no intention of calling upon the people to close their business on April 6th, 1919 which, as announced by Mahatma Gandhi, was to be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer throughout India. The local Satyagrah Sabha passed a resolution and posted big posters to the effect in the city.

The doings of the C.I.D.

It is necessary at this place to emphasize that the work of calming the perturbed minds of the people by the office bearers of the Satyagrah Sabha and the other Delhi leaders was made difficult by the mischievous actions of the C.I.D. people. On the 31st of March 1919 while Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Mr. K.A. Desai, I and others were trying to get shops opened two or three men were found haranguing people, not to open shops until the dead bodies were restored. One of them was recognised by Mr. Desai to be a C.I.D. man and Mr. Desai ran to catch him. But the man disappeared among the crowd. Again on the 1st of April while I with R.B. Sultan Singh got shops on one line from Fatehpuri to the clock-Tower opened, we saw a crowd being addressed by somebody behind us. We turned back and standing on R.B. Lala Sultan Singh's carriage, I asked the man (a Muhammadan) what

his object was. In a tone which appeared to me to be affected, he said "How can you understand the feelings of those who have had their relations killed. If any relation of yours had been killed you would never have advised the ending of the Hartal." I asked him point black: "What relation of yours has been killed ?" The man appeared to be nonplussed and just at that moment one of the assembled hundreds recognised him as a member of the C.I.D. No sooner was the remark made than the man disappeared as if the earth had swallow handwritten posters appeared on the wall of the clock-tower inciting people to murder the Kotwal. This was also considered to be the work either of the C.I.D. or of the police and the same view appeared in the Indian dailies. Moreover during all this time, several persons, whom I afterwards found to be C.I.D. men used to come to me at different times and to submit schemes of violence and I had to speak for hours to convert them to the Satyagrah principles of non-violence and self-suffering.

The hartal of 6th April.

Such was the condition of affairs when the sun rose on Sunday, the 6th April, and people saw with surprise another complete HARTAL. All Business was literally stopped. In the morning thousands assembled in the Fatehpuri mosque to pray for the souls of the dead. I had again to conduct the prayers. At noon some 15 to 20 thousand assembled in the Edward Park. Almost all the Delhi leader were present and there were lectures on Satyagrah and Swadeshi, and people were exhorted to restrain themselves and not to feel any resentment. In the evening there was a huge gathering at Doctor Ansari's compound in Daryaganj. More than a lakh people assembled and there were some 8 overflow meetings. Not a single Lathi was in

evidence and the proceedings came to an end peacefully and calmly. No police or military was in evidence near the meeting place and, therefore, no cause for irritation.

The people of Delhi had been pressing me to ask Mahatma Gandhi to come and give his Darshan to the thousands who had learnt a new spiritual lesson from him. As I heard that Mahatmaji was going on tour to the Punjab and Sindh, I wired to him to break journey at Delhi. I did this because I was certain that Mahatma Gandhi's personal contact with the people would make our task of infusing the principles of Satyagrah into them easy. Mahatmaji wired saying that he could leave Bombay on Tuesday evening. I wired back saying that we were thankful for his telegram and then the following telegram was received by me from him on April 8th. 1919- "Reaching tomorrow evening. Please keep my arrival strictly private; can bear no public demonstration." I showed this telegram to the other office-holders of the Satyagrah Sabha alone and did not think it advisable to inform the general Public as any public demonstration would have told upon the health of Mahatmajee.

The police and the military were, however, in full display and Lancers began to patrol the city from 7-30 pm more than two hours before the time of arrival of the train. When I, with some other friends, reached the Delhi Junction Railway station the several platforms were brimming over with the C.I.D. people and the issue of platform tickets was stopped. The train was late in coming because of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest at Palwal. When, however, the train steamed in the station, the European travellers, seeing us awaiting Mahatmaji's arrival, waved their hands exultingly and spoke only one word "arrested !" Then Mr. Mahadeva Desai, Mahatmaji's Secretary, came out and confirmed

the news saying that he had Mahatma Gandhi's message to deliver to us.

Mahatma Gandhi's Message and the Evening Meeting

Mr. Mahadevan Desai wrote out Mahatma Gandhi's message to my countrymen" and we got it typed in the night in my ashram. It was sent round to the papers. On the morning of April 10th there was again a complete Hartal. As there was no time for circulating notices, I left my lodging at about 7-30 in the morning. People assembled in large numbers in the way and the news spread within half an hour that Mahatma Gandhi's message was to be read on the banks of the Jumna to the assembled people. At 9 am about 20 thousand people (ladies and gentlemen) had reached the place of the meeting. The message, which is now a classical document, was read and explained by me and prayers were offered to the Almighty for his long life and the success of the Satyagrah.

In the evening there was another huge gathering numbering about seventy thousand people. The principal resolution, put forward, said - "This mass meeting of the citizens of Delhi calls upon every Indian to do his duty by his country and following the noble and inspiring example set by Mahatma Gandhi at Palwal, seek the withdrawal of the Rowlett legislation or his own imprisonment."

Another C.I.D. attempt at disturbance.

When the resolution was about to be put to the vote a strange incident occurred. A man who was standing at the farthest corner of the audience said in a shrill, piercing voice. "Stop ; what are you doing ? At Palwal 300 goras (British Soldier) have been killed and a thousand Jats with LATHIS are bringing Gandhijee here. How dare you pass this resolution ?"

The audience was thunderstruck and the chairman was at a loss what to do. I at once got up and said loudly: "I have definite information that Gandhiji was taken to Mathura last night and his carriage was attached to the Bombay Mail this morning. This appears to be a C.I.D. man, do detain him." But the man disappeared. Suspicions about his being a C.I.D. man were confirmed because at least one Inspector, two Deputy Inspectors and a dozen other C.I.D. men were present and nobody tried to arrest the man who was spreading such horribly untrue romouers.

Shraddhanand Sanyasi



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XI.

Pledge of Swadeshi

It was after his arrest at Palwal that Mahatma Gandhi thought of suggesting a pledge of swadeshi for the Indians. It ran as follows :- "With God as witness I pledge to use only cloth prepared from cotton silk and wool of Indian produce, in future and avoid by all means foreign cotton, silk and wool cloth. I promise to burn all foreign cloth with me." At the cremation grounds, on the morning of 10th April, 1926 the above pledge was taken by hundreds. The Hartal continued on 11th and 12th of April, - whenever we tried to get the shops opened the people were ready with the reply that they would not end the hartal until Gandhiji was set free. On the morning of 12th April, I received the following wire which left Bombay on the evening of 11th April :-

"Just arrived and discharged from custody. Must seek rearrest. Will inform later. Regret loss life some places. Absolutely necessary people restrain themselves and avoid violence. Please repeat this Lahore, Amritsar etc. Gandhi." On receiving this telegram I wired the following message to Lal Dunichand at Lahore and to the old Congress-worker, Lala Kanhyala, at

The Liberator, Vol. I No.11, Delhi, Thursday 10th June 1926.

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Amritsar :- " Just received wire from Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi released. He regrets loss of life; counsels restraint and avoiding violence. I, too, strongly urge calm restraint, will wire further particulars when received. God and Truth guide you." The above telegrams need some explanation. The majority of those who took the pledge of Satyagrah in the Panjab were Arya Samajists, and they joined the movement on account of my taking the lead there. So it was on me that they mostly depended for initiative and instructions. At Lahore Lala Dunichand and other leaders were still free but at Amritsar Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlu had been spirited away to an unknown destination. Hence there was no resource left for me but to convey Mahatma Gandhi's message to the old Congress leader Lala Kanhaiya Lal. Both of my telegrams were intercepted as I afterwards found. But the Amritsar telegram gave C.I.D. people the cue to entrap unwary innocent people announced with beat of an empty cannister that Lala Kanhaiyalal would deliver a lecture in the Jalianwala Bagh. Hundreds of gentlemen, who would have otherwise kept at home, walked to the Jallianwala to hear the patriot who had not spoken publicly for over a dozen of years. And several of them were caught in the firing of bloody Dyer and were roasted alive. This by the way. Armed with Gandhiji's telegram I gave public notice in the local newspapers and called upon the people to end the hartal. I was expecting to hear from Bombay that Gandhiji had again started for Delhi, but I was disagreeably surprised on the evening of the 13th when I learnt that Mahatmajji had ordered the suspension of all Satyagrah activities and had gone on hunger strike as Satyagrah against his own people.

Postponing my comments on this strange procedure on the part of Mahatma Gandhi, I, with leaders of the people, went round the city exhorting the people to end the hartal. We had induced some of the owners to open their shops when Lt. Colonel Beadon came on horseback with a strong guard and on

seeing him all the shops closed again. A meeting was, however, held in the evening when I exhorted about 35 thousand people (assembled in meeting) to obey Mahatma Gandhi and to restore normal conditions the next day. A single resolution was passed that day, a copy of which was wired to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy at Simla. "Citizens of Delhi passed following resolution at mass meeting held this evening. This Mass meeting of Citizens of Delhi protests against investigation instituted by Delhi Executive of incidents of March 30th on ground that being party to destruction of lives of harmless people and wounding of innocent citizens they cannot by any principle of justice and equity be allowed to sit as judges on their own actions. Meeting, however, invites Imperial Government to depute few officials from outside Delhi Province in order to cooperate with Non-official commission appointed by people of Delhi for investigation of causes that led to tragedy."

While we were assembled in the meeting, news spread like wild fire that the Delhi Leaders were about to be arrested, that they had been called by the Deputy Commissioner ostensibly for holding consultation but in reality for being spirited away to some unknown destination. When I entered the motorcar with Dr. Ansari and Lala Pearey Lal, people rushed and stopped the Car and began the shout :-"Please do not go to Colonel Beadon. You will be arrested. If you go, allow us all the accompany you." I knew nothing about any such meeting having been called and assured them that I was not going. On my giving repeated assurances they left us and the motorcar flew towards Kashmere gate. In the way Dr. Ansari and Lala Pearey Lal informed me that they had been really called by Colonel Beadon and that there was no time to lose. I compelled them to drop me at my lodging before they proceeded to Colonel Beadon's place.

Lathis began to appear.

From the very morning of 14th April 1919, Lathis began to appear. At noon, the Chief Commissioner called a meeting of local leaders and they all went to the Townhall. I heard that men with Lathis were going to the Townhall. Between 3 and 4 in the afternoon one man on a Tonga and another on foot went running towards the Sadar Bazar crying that Swamiji (meaning me) had been taken to the Railway Station and a special train was waiting to take him to an unknown destination. Some hundreds of the Sadar People armed themselves with Lathis and were running towards the Railway Station when they learnt that I was at home. Then thousands came running and boarded my humble lodging and I had to show myself to all by going downstairs before they could trust all was right.

In the meanwhile Hakeem Ajmal Khan and other Leaders had returned from the Town Hall and after seeing them safe at Hakeem Sahib's place the people went and held meeting in the Edward Park where Faqir Mohammed, a C.I.D. Inspector. and a Head Constable were assaulted but were saved by Satyagrahis.

At 6 pm, in the night on that very date, I received a letter from the Deputy Commissioner asking me to join the Conference at the Townhall next morning.

The Townhall Meeting

On the 15th of April I and Hakeem Sahib made a tour of the city and after trying to induce the butchers to open shops we reached the Townhall after 10 and saw all the other leaders there. The chief Commissioner with Deputy Commissioner and police and military were also there. As I went in, shouts of "Gandhiji ki jai" "Hindu-Musalman ki jai" were raised outside on the Chandni Chowk Road. I was asked by the authorities to go and calm the people. I went out and asked them to be quiet and they at once became silent. But there was again a stir and the

reason was plain.

I looked behind and saw Colonel Beadon coming out. I exhorted the people to keep quiet and took Colonel Beadon in. I noticed at that time that Lathis were becoming more prominent in the crowd. After an hour's consultation it was resolved, that the chaudhries and other prominent men from the city should also be called for final decision at 4 pm that day.

I and Hakeem Ajmal Khan induced the butchers to commence business about 4 pm and when we reached the Townhall we saw about fifty citizens in consultation with the Chief Commissioner and other officials. On the road in front of Queen Victoria's statue some 15 to 20 thousand people were standing, out of whom more than one half had Lathis in their hands. On the Railway road side also about 3 to 4 thousand were assembled. The people were telling me plainly that they were to guard their leaders and if any thing went wrong they would lay down their lives to defend them (the leaders). I tried to calm them and told them that they were mistaken. They told me in reply that I was mistaken and not they, but promised to obey me in keeping quiet.

I found the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Scott of the Police, and the Military officers all very nervous. But the reason of the excitement of the people was plain. One room of the Townhall was full of armed British soldiers, more than a dozen military officers, armed Cap-a-pie, revolvers in hand, were sitting in the conference, one machine-gun was mounted on the highest roof of the Hall, and to crown all an aeroplane was flying over the city. It was rumoured that the aeroplane would suddenly alight over the Townhall roof and would take away the leaders to an unknown destination. Therefore as in the morning so in the evening of April 15th the people shouted "Gandhiji ki jai" "Hindu Musalman ke jai" every time that the aeroplane came over their heads.

Every official appeared to be excited but there was one

calm figure and that was the Honourable Mr. Barron Chief commissioner of Delhi. No sooner he learnt, from the people's representatives, that the Hartal on April 10th commenced in order to show grief at the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and that it was continued because the people feared that their leaders would be harmed he at once rose equal to the occasion and wrote out his memorable proclamation, ten thousand copies of a Hindustani translation of which ere distributed the next morning. It was a memorable occasion. If the head of the province had lost his head at that time the result would have been disastrous. There is no exaggeration, then, in saying that Mr. Barron alone saved the situation that day.

And let me here divulge the secret that it was the way in which Mr. Barron took us (myself Hakeem Saheb and Doctor Ansari) into confidence that led to the subsequent saving of Delhi from the worst form of Martial Law. Mr. Barron showed to me in confidence the instructions of the Viceroy in which every power was offered to the Chief Commissioner. The detail were too shocking and horrible to be given here. Mr. Barron said to me- "Swamiji ! I do not want a further drop of blood to be spilt in the Capital of India." I replied- "Mr. Barron ! believe me, my faith bids me to avoid bloodshed at all times; but the Delhi people are at this moment, my special wards." Mr. Barron said- "It was in this very belief that I invited you especially to this meeting."

As the proclamation was being translated by Dr. Ansari, with the help of Hakeem Sahab, the crowd on both sides of the Municipal Gardens was getting impatient. At the request of the District Magistrate and the Deputy Inspector General of Police I went out and calmed the people and with the approval of the chief Commissioner got the curtains rolled up which calmed the people at once.

Shraddhanada Sanyasi.

In and out of the Congress

XII.

Mr. Barron's proclamation read as follows :-

"It was stated in the meeting of 15th April 1919, in which the Chief Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioner and other officers together with representatives of different trades and leaders of society were present, that one of the causes of the continuation of hartal was that it was the intention of the authorities to harm the leaders with whom they were conferring. There is no need of proclaiming that this is baseless and the Chief commissioner hopes that people will trust him.

It is also announced that the slaughter-house opened this evening and the citizens should open their shops according to their promises.

(Note- The Delhites did not like to open shops until the butchers had ended the strike.)

The Chief Commissioner promises to inform the Government of India that the hartal continued on account of the orders of exterminate against Mr. Gandhi- Mr. Gandhi has wired that he is free and healthy at Ahmedabad."

It was growing dark and the crowd outside was becoming impatient when Mr. Barron put the draft proclamation in my hand. I at once went out and, without waiting for the door of the Queen's Garden to be opened, jumped over the railing and was at once encircled by a surging crowd of more than twenty thousand. At that time every man appeared to be carrying Lathi. I told them to follow me to Dr. Ansari's compound (far away on the farthest corner of the city) and left on foot. The people were so much excited that they began to beat with their Lathis the wired drums for holding sweepings of the bazar and electric globes. I at once stopped and said in a loud voice "I will not go with you. Allow me to leave back. You promised non-violence to person and property and to fight with spiritual weapons alone and here you are breaking your vow." The vast crowd became silent for a moment and then all Lathis came down and a shout went forth "We admit our fault. We will not use carnal weapons, we will not; it is the spiritual force alone which we will use" and then they walked more than half a mile to the place of meeting, without any further mischief. There was a gathering of some fifty thousand people and I read out and explained the proclamation. Dr. Ansari spoke it through gramophone so that every word of it was heard by that huge audience. The we dispersed.

Efforts at ending Hartal.

The scene of the evening of 15th April was an eye-opener to me. Lathis were coming more and more in evidence and all sorts of skilled and common labourers were becoming vagabonds for want of work. On 14th April more than two scores of Sirki walas came and complained that for want of work they were starving. Hakim Sahib sent them to me and I silenced them for the time being the distributing some money among them. They and others again came

on the morning of 16th and when I wanted to distribute any dole they refused to take any thing and said- "Swami Maharaj ! try to end the hartal soon, otherwise we will be obliged to commit robbery in order to maintain ourselves." This was really a very dangerous idea but there was no help for it.

Then about fifty most respectable people in Government service, who had come to join our movement between the 1st and 5th of April and whom I had sent away to think over the matter seriously for 15 days before they took the irretrievable step, had come back and I had to explain the real situation to them. In this way they were saved from a worldly point of view. And to crown all Mahatma Gandhi, at the time of going on the hunger strike against his own countrymen, had written plainly that there was "some clever man or men behind" the disturbances at Viramgam, Ahmedabad and other places and this sentence began to be quoted even by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in proof of the fact that the Satyagrah movement had Bolshevist brains and money behind it. The Delhi Satyagrahies had sent a remonstrance to Gandhiji through a very reliable and able member who discussed the matter personally with Mahatmaji at Sabarmati but the reply we received was not at all satisfactory.

Such was the state of affairs when on the morning of 16th April all the leaders became busy in getting the shops at the Chandni Chowk opened. The work had hardly proceeded through half the Chandni chowk when suddenly Col. Beadon, with Mr. Scott of the police and a strong Guard again came riding from the clock-tower to the Fatehpuri side. That was the signal for all the shops to close again. We tried our best to persuade people to end the Hartal, but the people said. "The man who calls us

Badmashes will say that he succeeded in ending the Hartal. He will not compel us to do so". After trying till noon, we gave up the attempt for that day and met in consultation at Hakim Ajmal Khan's house.

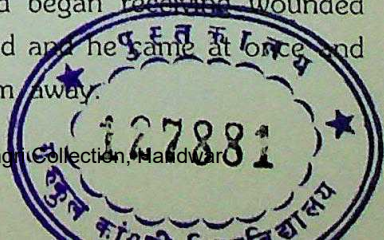
At about 3 pm intelligence reached us that all the additional police picquets were being withdrawn from the city and that even half of the ordinary police was being sent away. The people rose equal to the occasion and hundreds of volunteers came forward to guard the city and to keep night-watch. There was not a single report of an offence that night.

During half the night of April 16th the peoples' representatives sat in consultation because response had to be made to Mr. Barron's sympathetic attitude. I could not join the night meeting as full 16 days' abnormal pressure had told on my health. After 12 O'clock in the night Hakim Ajmal Khan, Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh and Doctor Ansari came to my lodging and woke me up. They told me that the Deputy Commissioner (Col. Beadon) had phoned offering us the help of the police for the next morning and asked my advice about it. I told them in reply that if the police interfered, I would have nothing to do with the opening of the shops and would not join in their work on April 17th. They promised to phone to Col. Beadon my opinion and promised that they would send a conveyance for me only if police-help was not to be taken.

The next day, in spite of opposition from some misguided people, we succeeded in having all business places opened by noon. But in flat contradiction of his promise, at 11 am., the Deputy Commissioner sent dozens of parties of policemen with big bludgeons who began parading the streets. We telephoned the District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent to call away

the police and to keep them back for two hours but all to no purpose. However, having got the last shops opened we were returning back when we saw great commotion near the clock-tower. As we approached people shouted :-

"You have ruined us. You are getting the shops opened while our men are being dragged by the police to the Townhall bleeding from bayonet wounds." I told the crowd to restrain itself, but finding R.B. Sultan Singh and Lala Pearey Lal Motor-Merchant sitting with me, the Mob, aimed lathi blows at them. The driver very boldly stood up and received the blows on his hands while allowing the two leaders to slip by the opposite door I got down and the crowd collected around me. They were excitedly going on contradicting each other and blaming the leaders and shouting all sorts of threats when I presented my head to them and said -"You will not become calm until you break somebody's head. Now, here is my head for you to break. Do it and then I shall hear you." A deep silence fell and then they cried with one Voice -"We would die for you. We have the fullest confidence in you." Then I got into the Car and said-"Now, you all remain here. I am going to the Town Hall and will find out what the matter is." But the crowd exclaimed- "We will not allow you to go there. The devils will kill you and who will guide us then ?" The crowd pushed the car with all their strength and forcibly brought me to Hakim Ajmal Khan's house. While there I tried three times to speak to the Town Hall by telephone, but nobody replied. Then the sound of firing was heard and I again left for the Town Hall. I had not proceeded more than fifty paces when the wounded were seen being brought by people on their shoulders. I returned back and began receiving wounded bodies. Dr. Hari Shankar was phoned and he came at once and after dressing the wounds took them away.



While I came to Hakim Sahib's, he himself went with Dr. Ansari to the Town Hall. He asked Colonel Beadon to show the arrested young man (Gauri Shanker aged about 20 years) to them. They said that there were no wounds on his body and asked Colonel Beadon to allow them to take away the boy and by showing the people, that he was not wounded, to calm them. Hakim Sahib told me that as Colonel Beadon thought that the prestige of the Sirkar would suffer, he did not allow it and they were at once startled on hearing the sound of firing.

I at once wired the whole situation that day to the Viceroy, but again no notice was taken of it.

It appeared afterwards that when I was driven to Hakim Sahib's, a crowd of vagabonds assembled outside the town hall. The police fired a blank volley. The crowd moved towards Fatehpuri. In the way they met a head constable in undress who was going home with medicines for his family. The leaderless men fell upon him and left him almost dead. Then they saw the police picket at the Billimaran chowk and tried to rush it. The police in pure self defence had to fire. The vagabondage, on this, disappeared and about a dozen innocent sightseers were pierced with bullets.

This ended the grand movement which had been beautifully sustained for more than a fortnight in Delhi. The Seditious Meetings Act was applied that very evening to Delhi and all the leaders vanished so that when the sun arose on April 18th not a vestige of a leader could be traced.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



In and out of the Congress

XIII.

I had been with the wounded up to 12 in the night and when I finished my Sandhya on the morning of 18th April I walked to the general hospital to pay my visit to the wounded, two of whom I had left in a very precarious condition. Both of them were Hindus. One of them died early in the morning. I found the other, a Pahari boy of 14, being nursed by our Volunteers. As the Corpse could not be obtained for cremation before post mortem after 11 am, I made a tour of the city. There was a complete hartal again but there was no life among the people. The best among them appeared to be demoralized. All the leaders were confined to their innermost apartments and the Mohammedans were openly charging Hindus with pusillanimity. Some of them were reported to have said :- "The Dhoti parshad Lalas fled leaving the Muslim wounded. One of those Musulmans is dead and no Hindu is dead and no Hindu is visible."

At half past eleven I returned to the Hospital and made arrangements for getting the bier of our departed brother ready. A few Muslims were passing on their way to Juma Musjid for Friday prayers. When they saw me they were startled. "Are

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Main ! Shamaji to Yahan hain (Swamiji is here)." They came in and apologized. They said "People are telling us that you had abandoned the people. They are liars. You cannot forsake us." And when they heard that the dead was a Hindu they fell at my feet. "Swamiji. give us only 1.5 hour and we will join you." It took us an hour more to prepare the Arthi. Only some 35 Hindus joined us at the hospital, but when we reached the Juma Masjid a stream of thousands of Musulmans joined the funeral procession and every Hindu followed us. The Nai Sarak was full of people from end to end. All were bareheaded. Neither the Police nor the military dared to interfere.

On the cremation ground about 20 thousand remained up to the end. In clear defiance of the Seditious Meetings Act we held a meeting. Sermons were delivered by several brethren. At the end they asked my opinion as to their further behaviour. I told them that they must not remain leaderless. I had heard that their trust in their old leaders was gone and they must not disperse before electing new leaders. There was a silence of some five minutes and then came a query in chorus- "Do you trust our old leaders?" I replied that my confidence in them was not shaken. With one voice the assembled thousands exclaimed. "We will follow our leaders." Then the question arose as to the ending of the Hartal. I refused to give advice unless they promised to follow it literally. They gave the promise and my advice was given in clear language. "Tomorrow morning at 8 am. all the shops should automatically open. No excuse of Jamna-bath or late puja will be accpeted." The pledge was given and we all dispersed.

On the morning of 19th April I came down my house at 8-45 am., and found brother C.F. Andrews motoring towards my

house. I got into the car and heard from him that all the preparations for applying martial law were made and if by nine o'clock the shops did not open the military would take possession of the city. We drove slowly so as to reach the Clocktower exactly at 9. The Khari Baori was open and when we reached the Fatehpuri mosque, the whole of the Chandni Chowk from one end to the other appeared to be engaged in business. It struck nine when we reached to Clock Tower. Mr. Beadon rode through the Town-hall gate on horseback but when he saw the whole of the bazar open, he had to go back and the critical moment had passed. I will not go into the details of how Colonel Beadon wanted to disgrace the local leaders and how through the instrumentality of Brother Andrews, we induced Mr. Barron to interfere, how the families of the Delhi martyrs were supported during the days of their difficulty, how the rumours of further hartals were contradicted by me, how the innocent in the local cases were helped and rescued and how Delhi escaped the horrors of the Punjab Martial law days. I shall confine myself to giving a few facts relating to my severance of connection with Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagrah. My resignation from that body will not be understood without bringing some plain facts to light.

1. Gandhiji, in his first manifesto calling off Satyagrah for the time being, had laid the responsibility of the peaceful citizens being shot by the Government Military and Police, on the soldiers of the Satyagrahis. The remonstrance of the Dehlites had no him and he stuck to his opinion.
2. Lala Shankarlal had been falsely accused of abetting the beating given by the public to Faqir Muhammed C.I.D. Inspector and arrested. Gandhiji wired ordering Shankarlal to offer no defence and to make a true statement. I wrote back to Gandhiji

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remonstrating against his interference without knowing the fact. Lala Shankar Lal was not even present at the time and place when and where Faqir Muhammed was assaulted. What did Mahatma Gandhi mean by his making a true statement and not entering upon his defence? The reply came in an envelope giving us the power of defend Lala Shankarlal under those circumstances. I thought Gandhiji's telegram had prejudiced the court against our work. We defended him; Abhyankar came from Nagpur to cross-examine witness and the late Deshbandhu C.R. Das argued the case and our brother was honourably acquitted.

3. Every mail brought posters from Gandhiji ordering satyagrahis to offer themselves for arrest if the police wanted them. There were other objectionable posters being received daily. I ordered all those posters to be burnt; and the local satyagrah committee disbanded itself as a protest against Mahatma Gandhiji's Ukases being issued without consulting anybody.

4. The police came strengthened with the authority of Mahatma Gandhi, and asked the Secretaries to supply to them a list of all those who had signed the Satyagrah vow. The secretaries referred the C.I.D Deputy Superintendent of police to me. I told him plainly that our Committee had ceased to exist and that I was not going to furnish any such list to him. When he spoke of consequences, I sent him about his business by telling him to go and prosecute me.

The rest of the reason I have already hinted at during the course of the Delhi story.

The result of all this was my resignation dated 2nd May, 1919. It was read in the Satyagrah Committee's Meeting at Bombay and led to the resignation of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas

and others and, if I remember aright, kept some others who had gone specially prepared to join the movement, from entering its portals. I reproduce my resignation which will explain every thing now:-

Before I took the Satyagrah vow proposed by you in connection with the extraordinary measures-known as the Rowlatt Bills, I was preaching not only the strict practice of Ahinsa (non-violence) and Satya (Truth) but of other virtues also as described in the Yamas and Niyamas. I always laid special stress on the observance of the rules of Brahmacharya (Sexual Purity) and thought it to be the root of all virtues. My idea has been that the practice of Brahmcharya alone can put a stop to the present day struggle in the world. On taking the Satyagrah vow, I sent round through the Press a message to the Satyagrahis in which the practice of Brahmacharya was enjoined as the condition of success.

You know well that I never cared to take part in the current politics, much less did I concern myself with the proposed Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms. My opinion has always been that the Indian politicians can never hold their own in round-table conferences with our rulers, who have always been at the head of world-diplomacy for the last thousand years. The only way of obtaining political rights, in my opinion, was to allow our rulers to work out their own scheme of reforms.

But the Rowlatt bills laid the axe at the root of the first Principles of human liberty and justice and, therefore, when the call came from you whom I regard to be the embodiment of our ancient spiritual culture, I responded to the call with my whole heart and soul.

One of the Rowlatt-bills was passed into law and your command went round for the observance of a day of humiliation and Prayer. The whole country responded to your call with a will which will never be surpassed. What occurred after that at Delhi on the 30th of March, 1919, is known all over India. Then you were arrested while on your way to Delhi and the whole country was stirred to its very depths. The consequences of that ill-advised action of the Government are known to all.

I am at one with you in condemning all excesses and atrocities committed at Ahmedabad, Veramgam, Amritsar and Kasur &c., by misguided perverted people. I further express my sense of horror at the burning of public and other buildings, especially that of the Christian Churches at Amritsar and Gujranwala. The killing of Indian Christian religious men and the unprovoked brutal attacks on ladies has given me the greatest shock, and I hope the Hindu and Mohammedans of Amritsar and other places will make some amends by helping in the rebuilding of the Churches and in showing practical sympathy with the families of our European and Indian brethren who were thus murdered.

But I cannot join with you in your silence about the wilful provocations which Government officials gave at Delhi and some other places and of the horrors perpetrated in the name of law and order in the Punjab.

If I have not been able to raise my voice against the excesses of the people and the tyrannical doing of Government officials, it is on account of the gagging of the Public Press at Delhi at the instance of the Punjab Government and for the indiscriminate censoring of all telegrams and letters which are sent from Delhi.

Now, as regards the occasion of my writing this letter to you, I have the highest regard for your person and your saintly character and it gives me great pain to differ from you on any material point. But if I, conscientiously, differ from you, I would be untrue to myself if I do not speak out and take the consequences.

You have suspended the civil breaking of laws temporarily because in your opinion "a crisis has arisen in the country and it was not suited to the occasion." You, however, hope that "when tranquillity was restored in the country and the people had thoroughly imbibed the true Principles of Satyagrah, it would be started again." Now, I am convinced that so long as the present system of Government lasts, there is no hope either of tranquillity being restored in the country or of the people at large being allowed to imbibe practically what you call "the true Principles of Satyagrah" through the signing of sympathy on paper. I am, therefore, convinced that under the present conditions in India, the civil breaking of laws, without producing an upheaval among the masses (for which neither you nor any Satyagrah is morally responsible) is impossible; hence consistently with the views you hold the time for the civil disobedience of laws other than the Rowlatt Act will never arise in the near future. I am further of opinion that when real tranquillity is restored in India, the Rowlatt Act will have gone out and again no occasion for civil disobedience of laws on its account will arise. The result is that the actual reason of my signing the Satyagrah vow formulated by you having disappeared, I beg your leave to withdraw my name from the Satyagrah Sabha founded by you. As Sanyasi I will continue my work of Preaching and Practice of the Eternal Principles of Dharma which include Satya, Ahimsa and Brahmacharya also.

Personally my opinion about the passed Rowlett Act and the proposed Rowlatt Bill remains unchanged and I will think it to be my Dharmic duty not to obey order passed under those laws when they came into force.

I will also go on with personal spiritual Sadhans for getting a repeal of those laws. But besides my work of preaching Dharma, my services will always be at the disposal of my countrymen in the following constructive work :-

- I. Indian Unity bringing Hindus, Mohammadans, Sikhs, Christians &c., on a common platform and the adjustment of their differences by united Panchayats.
- II. Popularizing the use of Swadeshi made things.
- III. The introduction of Hindustani as a national language, and
- IV. The development of a national system of education independent of the present Government University system.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



In and out of the Congress

XIV.

On the last day when the hartal came to an end I thought of going to attend the Anniversary of the Gurukula near Hardwar. But the Delhi leaders sat Dharna at my door and did not leave me till I had given up the idea altogether. Col.-Beadon had enlisted all the Raises as Special Constables and had ordered them to report their attendance at the nearest police station. All this was set right by Mr. Barron. And then poor Raises, several of them left for Simla, where they thought they would be safe.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer had all along been dinning into the ear of the Viceroy that all the mischief was sat aflat in the Punjab by me from Delhi and until I was arrested the unrest in the Punjab would not cease. The Chief Commissioner of Delhi was called to Simla. The Police set afloat the rumour that he had been called to Simla in order to get his orders for arresting me. When Mr. Barron came back, the bazar gupp went round that Mr. Barron had refused to arrest me. As regards this rumour I cannot vouch for its truth. But what expired further was related to me by one of the party of Delhi Raises who were concerned with it. A Hindu Rai Bahadur, a Muhammadan Khan Bahadur

and a leading Hindu Vakeel were called by Sir Charles Cleaveland the then Director of Criminal Investigation Department. He asked the advice of the trio about my arrest and said, "If it is absolutely necessary to arrest Swami Shraddhananda in the cause of peace and order, what would you give?" My erstwhile colleagues said: "If the arrest is required to maintain peace and order, he must be arrested." The Raikes came out. But the shrewd lawyer urged that if there was commotion and riots in the city at my arrest, they might perhaps be censured. The triple alliance went back and told Sir Charles that my arrest was necessary but it would be well if I was arrested somewhere outside Delhi. The conspiracy naturally came to an end on this.

The Police spread the rumour that my arrest was imminent and the citizens came to offer their services for guarding me. I sent them away with thanks and kept the door of my lodging ajar day and night to enable the Police to do their duty. Then the Police began to spread the rumour that I was at liberty in Delhi but not allowed to go out. I was watching for an opportunity which came very soon.

Pandit Motilal Nehru had come to preside over our non-official Committee of Inquiry and asked my opinion about the venue of the next session of the Congress. I insisted on their holding the Congress session at Amritsar, if they wanted the people to keep up their spirits. Pandit Nehru told that the President of the year, Pandit M.M. Malviya, was trying to induce some other Province to come forward with an invitation, and the Working Committee would meet, on 8th June in his Anand Bhavan, to decide the matter. I promised to go meaning to disabuse the minds of the C.I.D. as well as to give a warning to the Congressionalists at Allahabad.

Preparing to enter the Congress.

I left Delhi by the night express on 6th June, 1919. Not less than 20 C.I.D. men were on the Railway platform. I bought an Inter class ticket and quietly took my seat in a corner. The compartment was overcrowded. The C.I.D. people were looking for me in the 2nd class compartment. They were mystified. I had been seen on the Junction station; then had the earth swallowed me? At last they pestered the railway Babus to check Inter class tickets. Entering the compartment in which I was seated, the Babu began his work. I took pity both on the Babu and the passengers and offered my ticket. I told him not to trouble the others and go away after taking down the number of my ticket. He did so; then I was recognized. The result was that a complete seat was left vacant for me, in spite of my protests. My fellow-passengers were thirsty and cold water could not be had. The train left, but when it reached Ghaziabad, a man with a bucket full of water came out bawling : "Where is Swamiji? I have brought cold water for him." It appeared that the police phoned to Ghaziabad officials to watch me. The result was that I and my fellow passengers were served with icecold water. This, by the way.

At Allahabad strongly urged the Committee not to change the venue of the Congress and I succeeded in my mission. Returning from Allahabad I settled all business connected with Delhi cases and before leaving for the Punjab I held a meeting, with the Chief Commissioner's previous sanction in which Lokmanya's birthday was celebrated and an arbitration consisting of prominent Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi and Christian representatives was appointed to settle commercial disputes. Hakeem Ajmal Khan Saheb was appointed convener, but he never cared to call any further meeting.

The story of my accepting the Vice-Presidentship of the

Allahabad Seva Samiti in order to give relief to the Punjab victims of Martial law, collecting more than a lakh and a quarter and after giving relief to the needy, handing over the balance of about one lakh to Pandit Madan Mohan Malviyaji the President, who made it the nucleus of a permanent Fund for his Samiti, and resigning my place on the Samiti need not be repeated here. My purpose here is to show now I was pitch-forked in politics and the Congress without my heart being in the movement. The position was this. Touring throughout central Punjab, I had realized the depth of demoralization to which the brave Punjabi had fallen on account of martial law tyrannical atrocities. If, for fear of consequences, the holding of the congress session at Amritsar was given up. Complete collapse of the whole political movement would follow. So it was absolutely necessary to commence the work of forming a Reception Committee at once. But no Amritsar man had the boldness to come forward with a proposal. The C.I.D. sniffed that something was in the air and at once published a manifesto purporting to have been signed by several prominent citizens of Amritsar protesting against the next session of the Congress being held in Amritsar for the reason that there was danger of breach of peace and seditious talk. That was our opportunity; several so-called signatures of the manifesto denied having signed it and together with other prominent citizens signed a counter manifesto calling upon the Punjab people to make the congress session at Amritsar successful. A reception Committee was formed, secretaries were nominated, even a Vice president or two were elected and work began in right earnest. But nobody in brave Punjab could be induced to accept the Chairman's responsibility. It is needless to name all those who refused the honour, but among them were two who had all along been considered dauntless patriots and uncompro-

missing nationalists and had only recently changed colour for fear of a dose of Dyerism under the O'Dwyer regime. The soldiers of politics were there but who was to lead them? The leaders were in Jail expecting sentences of death and transportation. Some of them had already been sentenced. But they were taking things easily. Lala Harkishan Lal & Dunichand, Doctors Satyapal and Kitchlew, Pandit Rambhaji and others, in full Council assembled, passed a resolution formally requesting me to Act as Chairman of the Reception Committee. Then on paying a visit to the quarters of capital sentence convicts, the lion-hearted Chaudhries Bugga and Ratachand, scorning to sign petition for mercy where there was no justice, made one last request, namely that I should make the Amritsar Congress a success. I was still undecided and had written to Mahatma Gandhi for advice, because prominent Hindus and Aryasamajists were dissuading me from degrading sanyas by entering the arena of politics.

It was at such a time of induction that a deputation of ladies consisting of the better halves of some of the enchained lions came and their spokeswoman gave utterance to one simple sentence—"Father Swamin! We do not regret our husbands' separation because they are martyrs in a noble cause. But their souls will feel satisfied only if the Congress Session at Amritsar is not shelved." And that very evening came Mahatma Gandhi's advice in Hindi a translation of which I reproduce here :- "Dated Sabarmati, Bhadrapad Shukla 10th, samvat 1975 Vik. Bhai sahab! I got your letter. My conviction is that as long as we do not enter into the political field with Dharmic aims, so long will we be unable to succeed in the pure and true amelioration of India. If you become the chairman of the reception Committee, you will be able to introduce Dharmic feelings within the Congress; therefore you should accept the chairmanship of the

Reception Committee. This is the only advice I can give you....."

This put the finishing stroke and I became Chairman of the Reception Committee, without having been a member of the Congress.

The very first meeting of the Reception Committee revealed to me the difficulties of my position. I found that several of the selected Secretaries were those on whom rested the suspicions of having sworn away the lives of those with whom they had worked shoulder to shoulder in the Satyagrah days. A few of them tried to put difficulties in my way but by the Grace of God and with the help of other office-bearers who were devoted to the cause, we pulled through the uphill work. Then there was the fear of the official intrusiveness. The question of a proper site appeared to be the most difficult. I tried to get over it by renting cultivated land a mile away from the city. This brought the authorities to their senses and the splendid site was obtained which contributed not a little to the success of the session. So I was now in the thick of the fight and was actually in the Congress.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



In and out of the Congress

XV

Actually IN the Congress.

For good or for evil I became a part and parcel of the Great National Movement. There was another difficulty placed in my way, which was considered to be due to the silent attitude of the authorities. Thousands of delegates were expected from the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies. They could not live in tents owing to the biting cold of the north. For them Pukka buildings were absolutely necessary. But the Mahant owners of "Asharas" and Dharmasalas and the Managers of Schools were loth to give the use of their building to the victims of martial law atrocities and thus put their life and property in danger. There was also a talk of Tommies and Gurkhas being ready for Amritsar in larger numbers. The successor of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was known to me during the days when he was Secretary to the Education Member of the Government of India in Lord Hardinge's time. I saw him, after appointment, and personally invited him to the Congress session telling him that a formal invitation will follow. Sir Edward was a good hearted though weak man. He asked me not to send a formal invitation to him and said :- "You

will naturally criticize the actions of my predecessor. If the criticisms were to be levelled at me I would not care. But I will be putting myself in an awkward position by accepting your invitation." Then he tried to dissuade me from holding that session at Amritsar. His chief reason for dissuading me was : "People coming from all parts of India will flock to the Jallianwala Bagh and this will excite them." I said in reply that if the authorities did not make a display of the Military and the Police I would be responsible for everything passing smoothly. And I asked him to advise the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar not to put obstacles in our way. Sir Edward very kindly promised to do the needful and he was as good as his word. No new Military force was requisitioned, the men already there were ordered to keep to their barracks, the Police was to make themselves scarce from the city during our big processions and they were not to be seen in and around the Congress Pandal to keep order unless I asked for their help which I never requisitioned. An assurance from the commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner followed promising every kind of help.

But another hindrance arose from inside the Congress itself. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the President of the Congress Committee that year, having presided over the Delhi session, in December 1918. He set his face against the session being held at Amritsar for a very good reason. The Hunter Committee had arrived to hold an enquiry about the so-called rebellion in the Punjab and the consequent martial law doings. All the political leaders-Das, Nehru, Malviya and others, were themselves engaged in the Congress enquiry into the Punjab disturbances, and the task of leading the defence in the Hunter Committee also rested upon them. How, then, could an inexperienced man like me make the Session a success without their

advice and help? I was at Amritsar and the leaders were at Lahore. I was firmly of opinion that if the session was held at Amritsar and that too during the usual last week of December, the situation would be saved, otherwise political activities would be at an end for the coming fifty years at least. I sent brother C.F. Andrews to bring round Malviyaji to my point of view. Malviyaji was going to Benares on some University business and Andrews wired to me to see him at the Amritsar Railway Station. I was there awaiting their arrival. On coming out of the Compartment, Andrews told me that he had failed to persuade Malviyaji to give way to my view. I, then, had a straight talk with Malviyaji and his only objection being about the inability of the leaders to give help to me, I undertook the whole responsibility on myself. As the Scottish proverb goes: "A wilful' man maun ha'e his way." I was left free to act. The result is known far and wide. There remains only one incident about my difficulties before the Amritsar session began. The Pandal was to be a huge thing, the contractor began actual work only a fortnight or so before the Christmas Day and extraordinary rains set in after a week's work. Thrice was the excavated pit filled up with rain water and all the three times it had to be pumped out by machine. And when the dome was finally fixed up and about a dozen special trains were expected on 24th December, there was a downpour the like of which had not been experienced for the last two scores of years. The Punjab and the U.P. delegates who had already arrived and were located in tents, were standing up to their knees in water with everything drenched and I, myself, was working with my feet and half a leg in water. I sent for Motor cars and lorries a day earlier and began to hunt for lodging. I can never forget the splendid response of Amritsar. Three big buildings were at once placed at my disposal which were suffi-

cient to accommodate all the guests in the camp. Then those that came in specials filled up other buildings. But the cry was- "still they come"; some of the buildings lent to us were still not ready, it was raining cats and dogs and intelligence came from the Railway Station that it was full of Congress delegates; even the portico was full of them. It was then that a God-send phenomenon occurred. I was motoring, completely drenched, when a gentleman came running and bawled out:- "No body hears me. Swamiji kindly hear me." I stopped and the messenger of love and sympathy said-"I am ready to accommodate fifty delegates in my house. There are dozens of others who are prepared to do so. Send our brother delegates to our homes." I said in reply -"Brother dear ! Go to the Hall Gate and stop every would be host. When the delegates come, let every host guide his own guests to his house." The messenger of God left for hall Gate; I flew in the cars through roads and lanes calling upon the inhabitants of the city of gurus to go to this Hall-gate to the host. The result was that by 2 o'clock in the morning not a single delegate remained uncared for. And at the Railway Station, it was our meek and unostentatious leader. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya who remained working like a horse oblivious of the natural calls of hunger and thirst even and did not leave the Railway Station until our last guest had left for his place of destination. I learned to love Malviyaji more and more during my connection with him in the Punjab and to admire his splendid spirit of tolerance and discipline.

Let me give an example, only one example- here. The Hunter Committee was at Lahore. The Punjab Government had not agreed to release the detained leaders for the days of enquiry. Mahatma Gandhi insisted that as one of the condition of our conducting the defence was not completed with, we ought

not to lead the defence was not complied with, we ought not to lead the defence. But the Punjab leaders outside the jail and, in deference to their opinion those who had come from outside led by Pandit Madan Malaviya, the President of the Congress Committee, were all for leading the defence. This issue being decided against Mahatma Gandhi, he dictated two letters one for the Punjab Governor and the other for the Press telling plainly that he was against leading the defence, his presence would do no good and he would leave the Punjab at once. These drafts were in the hands of brother Andrews and he was taking them to Malviyaji at Lala Harkishanlal's when I arrived there from Amritsar. Andrews gave me the drafts and I was astonished on reading them. By this open split with Gandhiji the prestige of the defence Committee would not remain worth a pie. I went in and found that Lala Giridharilal was being phoned at Amritsar to be with the Hunter Committee at the time of their inspection of the Jallianwala bagh and other sites of the Disorders day's occurrence. I stopped Jivanlal (L.Harkishanlal's son) at once and told him to phone to Lala Giridharilal to come to Lahore by the next train. I expostulated with Panditji and induced him to call a meeting that afternoon for revising their previous decision as to the leading of evidence before the Hunter Committee.

The Committee met at the place where Gandhi was putting up. But before it met I convinced Pandit Nehru and Mr. C.R. Das that the leading of evidence would tell against us. I need not enter into the arguments I urged and the facts which I placed before them. Suffice it to say that they agreed with me. But two of the important Punjab leaders were firm in their demand and Malviyaji had promised to support them. For full four hours there was a complete lull. Then I took Malviyaji aside and asked him the reason of the deadlock. He was reluctant to

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oppose the majority on the one hand and on the other hand his own decision coincided with that of the minority of two. I advised him to take votes and to vote himself with the minority. A load appeared to have been taken off his shoulders. He came back and voted with the minority. But when the majority decided against the leading of evidence before the Hunter Committee, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya himself drafted a very strong letter addressed to the Punjab Governor and took the whole responsibility on himself. This was a brilliant example of selflessness and the spirit of democracy. This was one out of many occasions when Malviyaji set a silent but noble example for the political leaders.

I have only one more incident to relate before having done with the Amritsar Congress session.

The principal resolution was concerned with the Reforms. I will not refer, here, to the fate of the resolution in the Subjects Committee where it passed through several doubtful stages, but it was evident that there would be a very stormy discussion over it in the open session and that the house might divide on the several amendments as well as the principal resolution which was sponsored by Das and Tilak. It was for this reason that at the end of the sitting of 31st December "it was announced that the visitors would not be allowed entrance in the Pandal on the next day as there were some amendment to an important resolution on which the delegate would have to vote."

On January 1st 1920 I went on my usual morning round to the principal leaders. I began with the place where Gandhiji and Malviyaji were putting up. On seeing me Malviyaji at once took me aside and asked me to join himself and Mahatmaji in purging the Congress of its diplomatic and crooked policy. Asked

for further particulars, Malviyaji said that as he and Mahatmaji were not going to the Pandal that day I should also join them as a protest: I took Malviyaji upstairs and asked Mahatmaji for an explanation. He also re-iterated what Malviyaji had proposed. In reply I said- "I am at this moment the host who has invited the Congress and all the delegates are my guests. How can I absent myself?" Mahatma Gandhi admitted the force of my argument, but Malviya said that after the session was over I might go out of the Congress with them and work for its reform. On this I turned round to Mahatmaji and said -"You advised me to join the Congress in order to spiritualize it. If you intend to work for the reformation of the Congress in order to oppose it, I will have nothing to do with it. Mahatmaji again told me that Malviyaji had not grasped his (Mahatmaji's) position. He was not certain that visitor would take no part in voting and his conscience forbade him from taking advantage of catch votes. I assured Mahatmaji that I would be responsible for all visitors remaining outside the Pandal as well as for regular counting of votes if there was a division. Mahatmaji was doubtful whether I would succeed in what I promised but Lala Harkishanlal, arriving at this time, assured Mahatmaji that I would be able to accomplish what I promised. The point at issue was whether the Reforms should be stigmatized as disappointing and whether Mr. Montagu was to be thanked for the small mercies which were obtained though the reforms or not and lastly whether a response was to be made to the sentiments expressed in the Royal Proclamation. In my address as Chairman of the Reception Committee I had already pressed for responding to the King Emperor's gessure and for thanking Mr. Montagu for the reforms, especially for their being passed by Parliament at the particular moment. But Das and his party was against all this.

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They had won over Lokmanya, much against his will, to join the tankless party. Their principal resolution was amended by Mahatma Gandhi.

I had been true to my word and had sent out all visitors and there was every arrangement made for divisions and proper counting of votes. But at the eleventh hour Mahatma Gandhi accepted a compromise, allowing the much discussed word "disappointing" to remain intact, deleting reference to the Royal Proclamation and substituting a mild form of thanks to Mr. Montagu. When the compromise was announced Deshbandhu Das ascended the rostrum, after brushing aside Malviyaji who was about to explain the compromise in Hindi, and gave his own version of the compromise which showed the clear victory of his side. When the amended resolution was put to the vote, it was unanimously passed and the Pandal rang with a united exclamation of "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai." Every one felt relieved and appeared to agree with the old adage - "All's well that ends well" except a few Bengali delegates and publicists who were murmuring- "Moorkho log ! Gandhi ka Jaya Kahan hua ? Dash ka Jai Kyun nahin bolta?"

"Fools ! How is Gandhi's victory? Why not say victory to Das?"

After this more than a dozen resolutions were put from the chair and passed nem con and after mutual thinking of hosts and guests, the memorable session came to a close.

Shraddhanada Sanyasi.



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XVI

Instead of going out for collection of funds for the purchase of the Jallianwala Bagh and the raising over it of a memorial of the national martyrs, I was, in a way, spirited away to the Gurukula Vishvaavidyalaya Kangri. The gentleman incharge as Acharya there, threatened to leave by the middle of February 1920, without waiting for a successor and therefore the head of the governing body asked Pandit Malviya and Mahatma Gandhi to absolve me from my promise of going out for collection of funds. In my address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, I had prophesied that the name of the sacred spot would be changed from Jallianwala to Amar Batika (garden of immortality) and if I had been spared from the service of the Gurukula, I would have tried my best to change the name; but that was not to be.

Altogether I did not sever my connection formally with the Congress, yet for all practical purposes I had nothing to do with it. Still when necessary I used to write to Mahatmaji about the doings of the National leaders. At the Amritsar Congress, Mahatmaji was a staunch Co-operationist, but when the appeals of the Martial Law victims, after being admitted by the Privy Council under the Presidency of Lord Haldane, came on for

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hearing before the Judicial Committee with Lord Cave as President and were dismissed under pressure from the Bureaucracy, Mahatmaji became hopeless of getting justice from the British bureaucrats and was led by the Ali brothers unconsciously towards non-co-operation with the British Government itself. At this opportune moment the Ali brothers proposed Hijrat to the Indian Mosalmans as in their opinion Hindustan had ceased to be Dar-ul-Aman and according to their faith if a country became Dar-ul-harab, the only alternative resource for a true Muslim was either Jihad or Hijrat. Jihad was out of question for the reason that India was powerless against the up-to-date armed Military British bureaucrats and therefore the only resource left to them was Hijrat. And the Hindus were so much entangled in the meshes of the Muhammadan Khilafat movement that several individuals amongst them left Government service and other work and joined the Muhajareens. I wrote to Mahatmaji protesting against Indians leaving their motherland at the mercy of her enemies at this critical juncture. I asked him whether he could advise the sons of the motherland to go out when there was no hope of their getting an asylum anywhere, and when instead of thousands, a few lakhs of Indians go to Kabul relying upon the charity of the Sultan of that country whether it would be in the power of the sovereign to feed a number which would outnumber his own subjects. I exhorted Mahatmaji to exert his great influence and restrain our Musalman brethren from Hijrat because, even if the improbable became probable and the handful of Kabuli Afghans could drive the British out of India, the self-government so obtained would not be worth the purchase because a heaven obtained by the bravery of a neighbour would prove a very hell. I quoted the well-known Persian verse—"Haqqa ku ba aqubat dozakh barabar ast, raftan ba paimardie hamsaya dor bihisht."

I further urged upon him not to encourage the boycott of

Civil and Military service of the Government by the rank and file of the Indian services before he had made arrangements for maintaining them from public funds. If the boycott of services was essential (which I thought to be neither convenient nor necessary) I asked Mahatmaji to appeal to the Mohammedans in the highest services of the Government to lead the way. "If" I said, "Sir Md. Shafi and a few other Musalmans at the top of the services resigned they will be followed by their Hindu Colleagues and thus draw the attention of the Government towards their demands. And then there will be time to call upon the rank and file to resign when funds had been collected to enlist them in the National Police."

Mahatmaji's reply was truly characteristic of him. He said that he had not advised Hijrat but when our Muslim brethren thought it to be a call of their religion what could he say; still he hoped to try to dissuade them from resorting to it. He would never advise throwing up of Government service by the rank and file until arrangements had been made for their maintenance and he agreed with me in holding that self-government obtained through the help of our neighbours would not be worth the purchase.

Gandhiji was true to his word and went as far as Sindh (which province was leading the way in Hijrat) to expostulate with the Khilafatists there. But no heed was paid to his sage advice; the result literally bore out our forebodings and the suffering of the Muhagareens were so lamentable that a veil ought to be thrown over the past.

The above correspondence appeared in my Hindi Weekly "Shraddha" which came out from the Gurukula at that time.

In August 1920 I thought of raising a funded capital for the Gurukula and went to Calcutta to begin work from that place. I had done propaganda work for the Gurukula for some time when a Special Session of the Congress was called at Calcutta

as an appendage to the Khilafat Conference. Mahatma Gandhi from one extreme of full Cooperation with the British Government had receded to the other of full non-co-operation and had toured round the country with his usual earnestness. Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was away at Patna conducting the celebrated Dumraon case on behalf of the Maharaja against his late Diwan's sons who were represented by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Both the leaders, staunch Nationalist friends as they were, arrayed against each other in the mystification of legal quibbles, were away from Calcutta. I was daily coming in contact with the leaders present there but had kept my mind open. In fact my faith in the politics of the time was being weakened though I did not give utterance to my inner feelings. But the arrival of Mahatma Gandhiji gradually changed my mental attitude. I saw that Gandhiji was felling intensely for his non-violent non-co-operation programme and it would be a great national loss if he was disappointed in the hopes which he had formed.

Lala Lajpat Rai came to preside over the special Congress but his opinion was divided. Mahatmaji was being opposed by Mr. C.R. Das assisted by all the Bengal leaders. Lala Lajpat Rai's head responded to the pleadings of the intellectual giants of Bengal while his heart was drawn towards the appeals of the saint of Sabarmati. In order to know all about the ultimate triumph of the forlorn hope led by Mahatmaji, the report of the special Congress ought to be studied, but in order to explain why after voting for the non-co-operation resolution in the Subjects Committee I remained not-voting in the division which was called for at the open session, another lengthy communication is necessary.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



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XVII

In my last I promised to give in detail all the circumstances under which, after voting for the Non-violent No-co-operation resolution in the Subjects Committee, I abstained from voting in the open session for it as also at the time when a division was called for.

In the Subjects Committee Gandhiji gained the support of Nehruji after entering into a compromise with him. To the object of obtaining redress of Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, the words "the attainment of Swarajya" were added. I had myself given notice of an amendment which I withdrew on an understanding being arrived at with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.

The original resolution, as proposed by Gandhiji, fought shy of the word "boycott" and urged the use of Swadeshi cloth only. Mr. C. Vijayaraghava-chariar of Salem (Madras) proposed to add the following clause- "boycott of all foreign goods." Of course this was only an attempt to thwart Mahatma Gandhi who

did not like to use words which smacked of hatred and violence. The President put all amendments, one by one, to the vote except Mr. Achariar's and then the original resolution was put and carried by a majority of votes. Mr. Achariar pressed that his amendment became a part of the original proposition and was passed. This was contested by the other party. On this I gave notice of an amendment purporting to delete the clause about boycott of all foreign goods and this for very good reason. If the clause were passed, we would not be able to find one man in India (not excluding Mahatma Gandhi) who would be able to carry out this mandate in its entirety. Lala Lajpat Rai asked me not to move the amendment as Mr. Achariar's amendment was not part of the resolution but was a new proposition altogether, which even if pressed, could be opposed separately. I was called out by a pressing demand by one of my Gurukula graduates, who had accompanied me with the assurance that I would oppose the resolution about the boycott of all foreign goods in the open session. But what was my astonishment when I learnt in the open session that after I left the Subjects Committee Mr. Achariar had convinced the house that his proposed clause formed part of the original resolution which had been passed. On this I again gave a notice of moving the deletion of this clause, but the president ruled my amendment out of order because a notice had not been given in the Subjects Committee. I reminded the President of his assurance to me that it was a separate resolution, but he replied that according to rules my amendment could not be allowed at this stage. I could either support the resolution as a whole or oppose it.

Mahatma Gandhi with his usual ability, on moving the resolution, gave an explanation of his attitude. Knowing well that the boycott of all foreign goods was an impossibility even with him, he moved the resolution with a reservation. I got up when my turn came and began with the explanation that although agreeing with the major portion of the resolution and voting for it in the Subjects Committee, I was compelled to stand up in opposition because an amendment sent up by me to the President was not allowed here. I was proceeding to relate the story of my amendment in the Subjects Committee when the President stopped me and ruled that I could not relate there what had occurred in the Subjects Committee. I asked his permission to refer to the doings in the Subjects Committee in order to clear my position; but he insisted on carrying out his ruling and I sat down without any further remonstrance. The whole of this incident was given by me in detail at that time to the Amrit Bazar Patrika with the permission of Lala Lajpat Rai.

I became, again, indifferent about the doings of the Congress. There was another reason for my indifference. I took part in the Special Congress at Calcutta for supporting my resolution about the removal of Untouchability. I had sent in a resolution to that effect, but it was persistently shelved in the Subjects Committee. Even Mahatma Gandhi had not realized its importance and was taken up with his resolution of non-violent Non-cooperation. The reason for it was plain. The Non-violent Non-cooperation resolution had been passed by the Khilafat Committee and Mahatmajī threatened to sponsor it outside the Congress, if it was not passed there. I thought it to be a misfortune if

Mahatmajī would be obliged to sever his connection with the oldest political movement in Indian and therefore, instead of remaining silent in the Subjects Committee I canvassed for votes and gained not less than 25 votes for Mahatmajī's proposal in the Subjects Committee. Well, my pet resolution having failed to obtain the sympathy of the leaders, I left back for the Gurukula and Mahatmajī left for the South. While touring in the Madras Presidency he was heckled by the so-called Panchama Untouchables of the South with question about their position on the attainment of the national right of self-determination. The result was that one means of the early attainment of Swarajya became the removal of Untouchability. After a time I went to Burmah for collection of funds for the Gurukula, at the end of October and returned back in the first week of December 1920. While in Burmah I was followed by a Deputy Superintendent, two Inspectors and two Sub-inspectors of Police during the whole of my tour, and was approached by them with a request not to touch politics. But I did not pay heed either to their requests or to their threats and the revolution which occurred in the mentality of the Indians and the Burmese alike was attested by Mr. Abbas Tayabji who was there when I left and remained in Burmah till sometime after.

There is one particular fact about Maulana Shaukat Ali's doings, which I must relate here. Sitting on the dais in the Calcutta Special Session, Maulana Shaukat Ali, in the hearing of more than 50 persons, while the merits of non-violencist were being discussed, said-"Mahatma Gandhi is a shrewd Bania. You do not understand his real object. By putting you under disci-

pline, he is preparing you for Guerilla warfare. He is not such an out-and-out non-violencist as you all suppose." I was shocked to hear all this from the big brother and remonstrated with him which he treated with humour. I had no occasion to talk to Mahatma Gandhi about it at Calcutta. Next came the ordinary session at Nagpore which I attended. There too I noticed the big Ali brother playing the same pranks. On that occasion I wanted to warn Mahatma Gandhi but unfortunately I was attacked with influenza and could not join the last sitting of the Session. Still I wrote to Mahatmaji telling of my inability to go to him and asked him to come to me because I had an important communication to make. He also pleaded his inability to get off from deputations from different provinces who came to see him and sent his Secretary, Shriyut Mahadeva Desai, instead. I gave him my message to Gandhiji saying that he ought to be on his guard because his motives were being misrepresented by his trusted Colleagues. There was another prominent fact to which I drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi. Both of us met together one night to the Khilafat Conference at Nagpur. The Ayats (verse) of the Quran recited by Maulanas on that occasion contained frequent references to Jihad against and the killing of Kafirs. But when I drew his attention to this phase of the Khilaft movement Mahatmaji smiled and said- "They are alluding to the British bureaucracy". In reply I said that it was all subversive of the idea of non-violence and when a revulsion of feeling came, the Muhammadan Maulanas would not refrain from using these verse against the Hindus.

At Nagpur I was down with influenza. I left in the Special

for Delhi and went for a change at the Kurukshetra Gurukula. I grew worse there and left for Gurukula Vishwavidyalaya at Kangri where I was confined to bed with an attack too Bright's Disease for more than 3 months. During all this time I was daily devoting at least 2 hours to supplicating the Supreme Father-Mother Atma for fitting the Indian nation for true Swarajya.

Shraddhandanda Sanyasi.



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XVIII

In the middle of April 1921 when I was allowed by my medical advisers to leave my bed, to which I had been confined for three months and a half, they admonished me not to walk more than two furlongs a day, to lie down for rest as much as possible and not to undertake long night journeys. But the marriage of Pandit Motilal Nehru's daughter was to be celebrated in the beginning of May and all the Hindu and Muslim leaders were to be there. I could not absent myself and therefore went to Delhi first, from which place I started for Allahabad. I broke journey at Cawnpore and I mention this because I spoke there in a public meeting and exhorted non-violent non-co-operation not to nurse the thought of getting Swarajya within 12 months because if disappointed there might set in a reaction which would prostrate the whole nation for scores of years. I asked them to fight the battle of freedom to the very end and make proper preparations for it.

The next day I left for Allahabad by the Punjab Howrah Mail. Maulana Muhammad Ali was also travelling by the same train and I got in his compartment. Our talk centred round the topic of the day. Sir William Vincent (then Home Member of the

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Government of India) had repeated from his safe place in the Legislative Assembly that he had documentary proofs showing that Mr. Mohammad Ali was corresponding with the Kabul Government against the British. During that very period a second class leader of the moderate liberal party- because all of them were leader: there were no followers-told me that a letter intercepted by the C.I.D. was actually shown to Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru purporting to have been written by Mr. Muhammad Ali. I gave the whole thing in the Press and challenged the Government to publish a facsimile of the same in the papers so that the public might have an occasion to judge whether the letter was in the handwriting of Mr. Muhammad Ali at all. On his enquiring about the language in which the letter in dispute was written, I told him that it was alleged to be in Person. M. Muhammad Ali exclaimed-"Then it could not be written by me. I am not only innocent of Arabic but cannot write a letter in correct Person, Urdu poet though I am of some worth." I could not then understand how a man, innocent of Arabic and the Person languages both, could obtain the degree of Maulana, but the riddle was solved when I read the following in the open letter addressed to Musalmans by the late Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow, the declared Murshed of the Ali Brothers. At page 35 he wrote-"The diploma (sanad) of Maulana, which has been awarded to brother Maulana Muhammad Ali from Firangi Mahal was given on account of his discharge of duties of Tabligh (Conversions). In the Amritsar (Congress) Meeting, when all the topmost Hindu leaders were present, he gave the message of Islam by name to each one of them and moreover he gave the message of Islam to the Viceroy and through Lord Chelmsford to King George V. This was the duty of the Real Ulema (learned). When he (Muhammad Ali) discharged this duty on a grand scale, then from this place (Firangi Mahal) this title of

It is a different matter, altogether, whether Mr. Muhammad Ali did really give the Message of Islam to every topmost Hindu leader at Amritsar; but when I asked Pandit Nehru and Malviya, the late lamented Deshbandhu C.R. Das and Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar and others, they denied having been addressed on this subject by the neo Maulana. But these might have no place among the topmost Hindu leaders in the eyes of this Maulana. I, therefore, enquired of Mahatma Gandhi and he too denied having been personally approached by brother Muhammad Ali with this message.

Apologising to my readers for thus digression which is by the way, I come to the point again. Maulana Muhammad Ali complained about political leaders taking him to task for sending a wire to the Sultan of Kabul urging him not to make peace with the British Government. I, too, urged that it was not a wise step that he had taken. He kept quiet at the time but when we reached the Anand Bhavan [Pandit Nehru's palace], brother Muhammad Ali took me aside and taking out a paper from his hand-bag, gave a draft of a telegram to me to read. What was my astonishment when I saw the draft of the selfsame telegram in the peculiar handwriting of the Father of the non-violent non-co-operation movement!

Mahatma Gandhi reached Anandbhavan on the next morning. It was his day of Maunvrata. When I went to see him, he handed over to me a letter and a telegram which he had received from Pandit Malviyaji. The purport of the letter was that Lord Reading was a very good man in fact a saint and he appeared to be ready to give all the Reforms which the Indians wanted; so brother Gandhi should make haste to go to Simla to have an interview with him (Lord Reading). The telegram simply urged the necessity of Gandhiji's going to Simla with a loving threat that Malaviyaji would have to leave the cool breeze of Simla for the

burning heat of Allahabad if he did not assent to go to Simla.

I told Gandhiji not to go without consulting the Working Committee of the Congress, which had been called for the next evening. The reasons which I then gave to dissuade Gandhiji from going to see Lord Reading need not be repeated here. They were repeated by Babu Ramanada Chatterji in the modern Review.

Then came brother Andrews from Simla the same afternoon and after embracing me, gave such a glowing account of his interview with the late Lord Chief Justice of great Britain that all present were charmed. But I began a heartless cross-examination which elicited the fact that the astute diplomat had been reading the simple heart of the man of faith like an open book while keeping his own heart and mind completely closed to the eyes of his interviewer. Well, I gave my warning and my duty was discharged. Mahatmaji could not pay the best attention to my warning because he had full faith in his invincibility and as regards consulting the Working Committee he never thought of it. Mahatmaji went to Simla, he was made to sign a typed letter, addressed to the Private Secretary asking for an interview with the Viceroy and actually met Lord Reading. The upshot of that meeting is known all over the world. The astute diplomat took every advantage of the Saint's sincerity and simplicity and if Gandhiji's trial of truthfulness and the preservation of the sanctity of vow appeared with resplendent brightness, the actual mundane trophies of war remained in the hands of the man of the world.

This was, perhaps, the fourth Himalayan blunder which Mahatma Gandhi committed by putting the Ali Brothers in an awkward position and there were slight signs of a revulsion of feelings among the followers when another stroke of policy captured the imagination of the Indian masses. Overlooking the

three conditions for obtaining Swarajya within 12 months, the great Mahatma proposed to get Swarajya to the impatient Indian masses within three months if one crore (ten millions) of rupees were collected, one crore of 4 annas-paying members were enrolled and 20 lakhs of charkhas were distributed up to the end of June 1921.

This proposal of Gandhiji was passed by the A.I.C.C. at Bezwada on 21st March 1921 in preference to several plausible proposals put forward by other leaders. Not only this but the new National flag, with Charkha as its chief emblem, was also accepted at Bezwada.

I raised a strong protest against this despotic dictatorship in the columns of Hindi Shraddha a translation of which I give below:- "The thinking portion of Indians are puzzled to see that whatever proposal Gandhiji puts forward is literally accepted. Babu Bipinchandra Pal presided over the Bengal Provincial Political Conference. In that Conference Bipin Babu defined Swarajya according to his own conviction as "full responsible Government on Dominion lines within the Empire. Such a howl was raised on this that the President had to leave the Pandal. The Press also took him to task for defining the word Swarajya at length, when the Congress had left it for the Indian Nation to decide and define. But after that the following has appeared in the Young India in its issue of 6th April 1921:- "A friend from South Africa writes to say that several Europeans, there, are prepared to help the struggle for Swaraj, but they want to be assured on certain points. As the points raised are of general importance, I gladly deal with them here.

"Does Mr. Gandhi's Swaraj mean sovereign independence or full responsible Government within the Empire on dominion lines?"

"I should certainly be satisfied with full responsible Govern-

ment on Dominion lines, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are redressed. India can not remain within the Empire if the latter cannot redress the two wrongs; for full responsible Government will have no meaning for India if she cannot refuse to give pensions to Officers who have wronged her or if she cannot secure a settlement of the Khilafat terms. England then becomes an "Enemy country" for India."

"If this was the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi at Nagpur, then I cannot understand why he did not agree with Pandit Malaviya. And if he has changed his opinion since then, he ought to consider whether it was proper for him to express this change without getting it passed by the coming session. For three full months I waited to see whether any of those, who raised a hue and cry against Bipin Babu, will protest against Mahatmaji. And even those papers, that published this note (of Gandhiji), did not comment upon it.

"At Bezwada Mahatmaji got the Indian National Flag passed by the A.I.C.C. and I learn from "the Independent," that the flag with charka emblem will be unfurled at Allahabad at the time for the District Congress Committee meeting."

At the end I again protested against this despotic Dictatorship with double force.

By the 30th of June 1921, more than one crore of Rupees had been collected for the Tilak Swarajya fund, I am sure a crore of 4 annas paying members were enlisted and although no actual list could be prepared, about 20 lakhs of charkhas were distributed. But when the 30th of September came, there was no sign of Swarajya. The reply of Mahatmaji was : this was only a disciplinary measure to judge whether the country was prepared for Swarajya or not. Actual Swarajya would come by and bye.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



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XIX

My faith in Mahatmaji's statesmanship was being shaken and I began to have my doubts about his equanimity even.

The sinews of war having been collected, a meeting of the A.I.C.C. was called at Lucknow for devising measures in order to utilize the same. Before the Committee met Gandhiji discussed the position of the Working Committee in Young India dated 29th June. He said that the Working Committee should consist of members who were actuated with a single motive. There was no room for opposition parties nor for difference of opinion. If any of its members could not see his way to work with others, he ought to resign. Gandhiji raised this discussion for the reason because when the sinews of war were ready there ought not to remain any obstacles in the way of workers.

I supported Mahatma Gandhiji with the following remarks :- Mahatmaji will naturally be the President of the Working Committee, the rest, 14 members, must be such as are the devoted followers of Mahatmaji in all respects- in the words of Ali brothers- who should be ready to bow down before their

general without the least objection. Although at the present moment, while the illiterate masses consider Gandhiji to be the incarnation of God, the educated people have taken him to be the Congress personified, yet the individual who has infused new spiritual life in the country and promises to obtain for you Swarajya within 12 months, ought to be given full opportunity to put forth his whole strength... If Swarajya does not become a fact accumpile on 31st December 1921, then the Avatar theory will, of itself, be refuted but Indians will become fit to continue the battle of freedom for generation. At present it will be harmful in the best interests of the country to criticize every act of Mahatma Gandhi and to compel him to give satisfactory replies to every street-boy. The above appeared in the "Shraddha" of 9th July, 1921 and Gandhiji formed his Working Committee in conformity with his demands.

In the middle of August I went to join the session of the Punjab Provincial Political Conference at Multan. The Khilafat vow was being taken by large numbers of Hindus and Muhammadans alike and great enthusiasm prevailed. Strong bitter speeches were the order of the day and whoever was the most violent in his speech bore away the palm. Up to that time I never thought that it was a mere show of threat on the part of several leaders while in their heart of hearts they were thinking of a compromise with the Government. But Mr. Stokes of Kotgarh opened my eyes there. He told me that while Gandhiji was threatening that he would not survive if Swarajya was not obtained by the end of 1921, the rest of the political leaders, who roared like lions from the rostrum, were anxiously looking forward to a compromise with the British Government. The leaders did not know to what chaos the struggle in which they were engaged would lead them. On my return journey I saw Lala Lajpat Rai and he, too,

confirmed Mr. Stokes' view. From the topmost leaders to those who led portions of the masses, every leader appeared to be in the dark as to where Mahatmaji was leading them. I told them to have a plain talk with Mahatmaji as to the final goal to which he wanted to lead them and to find out whether he would retire to the Himalayas, abandoning his faithful confederates to shift for themselves. Then I told Lala Lajpat Rai that nobody paid the least heed to the removal of untouchability and I felt that problem to be very acute in Delhi. I had a thousand rupees to begin work with, Lala Lajpat Rai gave me a cheque for Rs. 500 and advised me to wire to Gandhiji for further pecuniary help out of the Congress funds at his disposal.

I reached Delhi on 17th August 1921 and found that the question of the removal of untouchability was becoming very acute. The Aryasamaj people had been working for the raising of the depressed classes in and around Delhi more than half a dozen years before that period, but I found that the best amongst them had gone against the Congress and the Hindu-Muslim Communities. I called a few of their chief chaudharies and asked the reason of their revolt. They gave the following story :-

"The Secretary of the Delhi Congress Committee called the chaudharies of the Chamars and requested them to give to the Congress as many four annas paying members as they could. The reply of the elders was that unless their grievance as regards the taking of water from the public wells was removed, they could not induce their brethren to join the Congress. The Secretary was a choleric man of hasty temper and said they wanted Swarajya at once but the grievance of the Chamars could wait and would be removed by and by. One of the beyond men

got up and said-"Our trouble from which we are suffering for centuries must wait solution, but the laddue of Swarajya must go into your mouth at once. We shall see how you obtain Swarajya immediately !!" I then induced Hindus of Delhi to allow the depressed classes to take water from their wells, but the Muslim Congressmen stood in our way and for a time it seemed that even the Aryasamajists would not be able to keep the depressed classes free from the machinations of the bureaucracy. It was at such a crisis that I wrote the following letter to Mahatma Gandhi on 9th September, 1921:-

"I wired from Lahore that I would apply for financial aid through the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee but on reaching Delhi I found that the uplift of the depressed classes through the Congress was difficult. The Delhi and Agra Chamars simply demand that they be allowed to draw water from wells used both by Hindus and Muhammadans and that water be not served to them (from Hindu water booths) through bamboos or leaves. Even that appears impossible for the Congress Committee to accomplish. Not only this ; a Musalman trader of sadar went to the length of saying that even if Hindus allow (these men) to draw water from common wells, the Musalmans would forcibly restrain them from drawing water because they (the chamars) eat carrion.

I know that there are thousands of these chamars who do not either drink wine or eat flesh of any kind and a few of them who eat carrion are being weaned by the Aryasamajists from that filthy habit. But I ask-do Hindu and Muslim meat-eaters devour flesh or living cattle? Do they not eat the flesh or the cattle when they are dead?

At Nagpur you laid down that one of the conditions for

obtaining Swarajya within 12 months was to give their rights to the depressed classes and without waiting for the accomplishment of their uplift, you have decreed that if there is a complete boycott of foreign cloth up till the 30th September, Swarajya will be an accomplishment fact on the 1st of October. The extension of the use of Swadeshi Cloth is absolutely necessary but as long as 6.5 crores of our suppressed classes are taking refuge with the British bureaucracy so long will the extension of Swadeshi be impossible.

I now want to engage with my limited energy in the uplift of the depressed classes. I do not understand whether the Swarajya obtained without the so-called untouchable brethren of ours joining us will prove salutary for the Indian nation.

I am writing this letter simply to inform you that I cannot, now, apply to the Working Committee for financial aid. Whatever I can do with my limited means I will do.

I want to draw your attention to another urgent matter. You laid stress on purchasing the whole of the Jallianwala site. That was done; I too had a small share in the negotiation. With your great influence you got money collected for that purpose. The site has been purchased and about two lakhs and a half is lying for erecting a fitting memorial for the martyrs. But the conditions of the Compound of Jallianwala gave me great pain. I was told that when Lord Reading paid a visit to the place, a high European Official of the Government said that there did not appear to be any strong resentment amongst Indians for the blood shed at the place. It was simply the hubbub raised by a few agitators. Will you pay the least heed to that?

You laid stress on the Jallianwala Memorial Leaving that

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halfway you launched nonviolent non-co-operation at Calcutta. An overwhelming majority of the nation bowed their head before your decree. By the programme you wanted to paralyse the bureaucratic Government. In that connection the first work was to give up titles. That could not paralyse the Government, but if we could have succeeded in taking out even half the students attending Government and semi-Government institution, something could have been achieved. In my humble opinion we have gained nothing by that agitation. In that connection the only remaining work is to give permanence to the newly started national institutions and to prepare a national scheme of study. For that there is no necessity of exciting propaganda. Further if at least a h of Vakils and Barristers had given up their practice, some commotion had taken place. But in that too there was no success. Those high souled lawyers who gave up practice have done a great deal in raising the political outlook of the nation, but we did not succeed in paralysing the government even by that.

Then we did not succeed in fulfilling the conditions which were laid down at Nagpur for obtaining Swarajya. Your triumphal procession does not allow you to learn actual condition of things. During the last few days I have talked to some of the intermediate Hindu Muslim leaders of the Punjab and the United Provinces- In the hands of these (leaders) is the real rein of the masses. I know that among both the communities there is a fall in their mutual trust. The disputes between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans in the South have not been settled and in the absorption of the depressed classes not a single step has been taken. What you have done in this respect-and a great deal have you done- is commendable, but the effect of that has been washed away by the rest of the Non-co-operators.

Brushing all these aside you proclaimed the boycott of foreign cloth alone to be the means of attending Swarajya. The All- India Congress Committee again bowed down to your decision. Much has been done in popularizing the Swadeshi cloth during the last few week and this has effectively told upon the import of the foreign cloth. But you have again decreed that if by the 30th of September, 1921 the complete boycott of foreign cloth is not attained then a further period of 12 months will elapse before there is any possibility of attaining Swarajya.

A glance at the above shows that you think there is a probability of violence bursting forth if Civil disobedience of laws and consequently non-payment of taxes is allowed, and I, also, believe the same to be a fact. But there is a difference in our viewpoints. You hold that the masses have not been so disciplined as to become non-violent, while I think that, even, if the masses become disciplined the devoted pupils of the bureaucracy will provoke the masses so much that their remaining non-violent will become impossible. Perhaps the Khilafat Conference at Karachee has passed the resolution of establishing a republic which has been supported by Maulana Shaukat Ali at Bombay in the following words :- "...unless Government settled the Khilafat and Punjab grievances, they would unfurl the banner of independence at the next session of the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad." Is this the proper procedure of solving the problem of Swarajya?

Six and a half crores of socalled untouchables separated from you, the non-Brahmans of all Madras your firm oppositionists, the Monopolises of intellect, the Moderates, not only the supporters of the Government, but ready to go ten steps beyond then ! And then the Northerners are quite distinct from the

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Southerners. Whatever you order must be obeyed without any remonstrance upto the 25th of December, 1921 (a day before the Congress session was to begin). But if on that date the Swarajya, for which the people have made such splendid sacrifice, is not obtained, then you should be ready with your scheme of work for the future. But perhaps your spiritual eye has seen what is hidden from the Common people."

I have given the whole of the letter in order to lay bare before the public the working of my mind at that period.

Shraddhanada Sanyasi.



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XX

THE BONFIRE OF FOREIGN CLOTH

Long before Mahatma Gandhi started the movement of pure Swadeshi, it had been working its way through some of the leaders of the Aryasamaj, in the Punjab. The founder of the Aryasamaj was the first Swadeshi preacher in India and a suit of clothes made of hand spun and hand woven material which His Highness Sir Nahar Singh, the Rajadhiraj of Shahpura exhibited at Mutter on the occasion of Rishi Dayananda's birth centenary showed the result of Dayananda's practical teaching. I, my self, had adopted the Swadeshi years before I took charge of the Gurukula at Hardwar, in the beginning of the year 1902 A.D. So the boycott of foreign cloth alone was not a novelty for me.

But when Mahatma Gandhi sent forth his fiat for burning all foreign cloth and a great demonstration of it was to be made at Bombay, I sent a wire to Mahatmaji not to generate hatred against foreigners and to allow the discarded clothes to be distributed among the starving and naked poor of India. Brother Andrews also sent a protest to the same effect.

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My difference of opinion

I also sent a detailed letter to Gandhiji on the subject and wrote about my other differences of opinion with him. Mahatmaji wrote in reply in Hindi :-"I have received your letter. I had no time in Bombay to send a reply. If your difference of opinion, is about the burning of foreign cloth alone, then it is an ordinary matter. I wish to explain to you the occasion of that decision. As regards the other differences of opinion, do write to me. I wish that you may accept financial aid for hand-weaving in the Gurukula. In spite of difference of opinions, if it is not a very essential difference of opinion-there is no reason why we should not help each other. In your last letter I saw a pessimistic wave pervading. Considering me your younger brother write to me in detail and make me a share in your sorrow."

After this Gandhiji gave his view-point as regards the burning of foreign cloth in the Press, and this combined with other circumstances reconciled me to his view. As regards the other difference of opinion I wrote to him on 13th October 1921-"The second difference of opinion was that when the civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes was decided upon, the British bureaucracy ought to be informed at the same time that if any blood flows as its consequence, that the non-violent non-co-operation will not be considered responsible for that and the work will not be stopped for fear of (outside) violence. Now that I have read your statement in the Press I am satisfied. When that occasion will arise I will be at once with you. There is no third difference of opinion."

But it appeared afterwards that Gandhiji's statement was capable of more than one interpretation- as the Bordoli resolution afterwards proved.

After describing the efforts that I was making for introducing hand spinning and hand weaving in the Gurukula and describing the means of introducing universal peace according to the Vedas as interpreted by Rishi Dayananda, I finished by stating the efforts which I was making to save the depressed classes from the clutches of the agents of the bureaucracy.

An invidious distinction

While people came to the conclusion that the burning of foreign cloth was a religious duty of the Indians and Das, Nehru and other topmost leaders made a bonfire of cloth worth thousands, the Khilafati Musalmans got permission from Mahatmaji to send all foreign cloth for the use of their Turkush brethren. This again was a great shock to me. While the Mahatmaji stood adamant and did not have the least regard for Hindu feeling when a question of principle was involved, for the Muslim dereliction of duty there was always a very soft corner in his heart. I was absent from Delhi when the collection of cloth for Angora began and my Ashram being the home of all nationalists, the Muslim collectors took away all the cloth which was awaiting my arrival for being put to the flames- I could not, for the life of me, understand the ethics of depriving our own poor millions of the means of covering their nudity and sending the selfsame clothes to a distant land. It was acting just like the beggar who was ready to fill the begging bowls of those standing at his door-

आप मियां मंगते अर द्वार खड़े दर्वेश—”

Preparation for Civil Disobedience.

Gandhiji had been taken at his word and men, money and Charkhas had been supplied to him by the people of India. He could not stand still. A meeting of the A.I.C.C. was called at

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Delhi for the 3rd and 4th of November 1921. The proceedings of that meeting gave another shock to me. The President of the year, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, was very shabbily treated and invectives against those who had their conscientious doubts as to whether the time for Mass Civil Disobedience of laws had arrived, was the order of the day. I need not go into the details of that meeting. Suffice it to say that the conditions for starting Mass Civil Disobedience were laid down- the chief items being complete removal of untouchability and at least 80 per cent. of the population using hand spun and hand woven cloth of local produce. Mahatma Gandhi induced an overwhelming majority to allow him to prepare Bardoli Taluqa for Civil Disobedience.

Raizada Hansaraj for Jalandhar undertook to prepare one Tehsil of the Jalandhar District and Lala Shankarlal to prepare the city of Delhi for Civil Disobedience. This was one step towards Swarajya.

Another important business transacted at that time was a special Conference of the Hindus held on 7th and 8th November 1921, in order to adopt the Programme of non-violent non-cooperation of the Congress against the Government for disregarding the repeated requests of the Hindu Community as regards the protection of cows. Hakeem Mohd. Ajmal Khan acted as Chairman of the Reception Committee and gave a very novel advice. Of course the following resolution were bound to be passed.

"This All-India Hindu Mahasabha fully accepts the resolution of the Sub-Committee appointed at Brindaban 'that for the protection of cows the full programme of non-violent non-cooperation which is being worked under the aegis of the Congress' and exhorts all Hindus to consider it to be their duty to act accordingly."

A further resolution laid down-"Where as the advent of the Heir-apparent is the means of strengthening the power of the British Government-therefore, it is the religious duty of every Hindu to boycott it completely, to boycott foreign cloth and to use pure Swadeshi, and as in the Cantonments lakhs of cows are slaughtered annually, therefore, under such conditions no Hindu should serve the British Government specially in the Police and Military Department and generally in other departments." It was the first time that I was induced to join the Hindu Mahasabha and when a Sub-Committee was appointed to give effect to the above resolution I was appointed its president.

But there was one resolution adopted at the suggestion of Hakeem Ajmal Khan which had a peculiar meaning for the non-co-operators. It ran as follows :- "This Mahasabha respectfully entreats the Dharmacharyas, learned Sadhus and Pandits to give a vyavastha (fiat), according to the Veda and shastras, for non-co-operation with the English Government which allow cow-killing so that the Hindus' life-giving mother cow might be protected."

Hakeem Sahib had already laid the foundation of the 'Jamayat-Ulem-i-Hind' which inculcated strong Fatwas against the British Government for the protection of the Khilafat and his suggestion was to organize a similar Jamaiyat of Pandits to give vyavastha against the devilish Government which allowed slaughter of the cows.

Where Hakeem Sahib succeeded, the Hindus failed to form such an organisation and I feel now that they were fortunate in their failure. If a 'Jakaiyat-i-Panditan' had become a fiat accompli the Hindus would also have been powerless to stem the tide of orthodox bigotry as the thinking portion of the Musalmans are

finding themselves powerless to stop the onrush of Muhammadan bigotry and fanaticism. This is only by the way.

The chief work which I had to do on this occasion was to clear the position of Mahatma Gandhi in the eyes of the congress leaders. When other leaders failed to elicit anything from Gandhiji, I broached the subject in a straight forward blunt manner. In substance I said- "Your pronouncements are always dubious. You appear to be determined to obtain Swarajya by the end of December 1921, and if Indians fail to accomplish that, you threaded either to end your self or to depart to the Himalayas and to leave the Indian peoples to their fate. How can you expect people to work hopefully when they think that in case of their failure to attain the unattainable within less than two months, they are sure to lose 'your inspiring guidance'? The plain question is- Will you sever your connection with the movement if Swarajya is not obtained on the 31st of December, 1921?" Thus asked pointedly Mahatma Gandhi's reply was reassuring. He said-"If I find the Indian people determined to work for Swarajya I will go on guiding them." This was a distinct gain in order to keep up the spirit to the leaders.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



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XXI

DELHI MARTYRS' MEMORIAL

Until that period and even for some time after wards, I never went to the public press with my criticisms but contented myself with writing and speaking direct to Mahatma Gandhi only. My faith in his programme was shaken and I, quietly, directed my energies to other important matters. It had been resolved in Delhi at a mass meeting held on 7th April 1919 that a memorial to the Delhi martyrs of 30th March, 1919 and I began to collect money. A site (the well-known Pataudi house which was dubbed Gandhi-Nagar subsequently) was secured for one lakh of rupees out of which 55 thousand were subscribed at once and I got possession of the building and site on paying the above sum in cash and giving a Promissory not to the sellers for the balance of 45 thousand with a promise to pay interest at the rate of seven and a half per cent per annum. That sum was standing against me because when my work of collections was in full swing the Chief Commissioner advised Hakeem Ajmal Khan, President and Mr. K. A. Desai, Treasurer of the Martyrs'

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Memorial Committee to ask me to postpone the collection of money as this would keep up an excitement among the people. Unfortunately both the gentlemen promised to induce me to stop collections and I had to give up further efforts. 'Strike the iron while it is hot' is an old proverb which holds good for all time. Once postponed the work of collections could not be revised on account of my being engaged in the Punjab relief work and then in making the Amritsar Congress a success. When that was finished I was called to the Gurukula from whence I had been relieved only recently.

I began the collection of funds in right earnest, but I had to go the Gujrat in accordance with a previous promise, after beginning work at Delhi. I intended to leave Delhi on the morning of November 19th so as to reach Navasari on the morning of the 20th. But in the meantime the Prince of Wales had arrived in Bombay on the 17th and a violent riot broke out of which an account reached Delhi on the 18th.

The Bombay riots.

The A.P. had wired that only hooligans and some millhands took part in the riots, but after working diligently for ending the riot, assisted as he was loyally by Mrs. Sorojini Naidu, Pandit Nekiram, Maulana Azad Sobhani and others, Mahatma Gandhi in his public statement admitted that not only the intelligentsia but even non-co-operators had taken prominent active part in murderous attacks and arson.

Lala Lajpat Rai was travelling with me, as he was going to join the Congress Working Committee Meeting which was to

take place on 22nd November at Bombay. Mr. C.R. Das and Pandit Nehru were also on their way to Bombay but without waiting for them and without placing the whole matter before the Working Committee, Mahatmaji condemned his non-co-operating followers right and left and threatened to begin Satyagrah by going on hunger strike. It was another Himalayan mistake on the part of Mahatmaji. Such was the opinion of some of his most devoted colleagues. Why did he not wait till the 22nd November so that a joint statement could have gone out in the name of the Working Committee after a sifting enquiry into the causes of the disturbance? People felt that Mahatmaji had more regard for his own reputation for truth and spirit of non-violence than for doing justice to thousands of his followers who were ready to sacrifice and had actually sacrificed their all at the altar of hero-worship.

Preparations for Civil Disobedience.

Gandhiji was engaged in preparing Bardoli Taluqa, of the Surat district, for civil disobedience when he was called to Bombay for the Working Committee Meeting. There was a private school at Kharsupa which some of the promoters desired to change into a Gurukula. I had been called to perform the opening ceremony of the same. But when I drove in a tonga to the place, it appeared that Mahatma Gandhi's trusted lieutenants had induced the majority of donors not to allow a change. The school was called National but there was no difference in the curriculum and discipline to distinguish it from Government Schools. All the same I was asked to address the audience which had

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gathered there. I enquired whether the so-called Untouchables were freely admitted to the Boarding and the School. It then appeared that no Untouchables had ever been admitted to the boarding house while the three, who had been admitted in the School, were not allowed to sit with their fellow-students in the class room but were accommodated separately in the verandah. In my lecture I took the management to task and told them not to call the school national until every child of the nation could be admitted in it freely.

My exhortation did not fall on deaf ears. The Manager compelled the staff, on the very next day, to allow the depressed classes boys to sit with the class. The result was that in the next sitting more than half the students absented themselves, and on the next day, the benches were all empty and except, perhaps, the headmaster and one other teacher the whole school staff made the themselves scarce. The result was that the splendid building of the school, located in the healthy open space, was locked and was not opened till Bardoli had come and gone and nobody remained to insist on depressed classes boys to mix with the so-called caste lads.

From Supa I went to Surat and other places for popularising the Gurukula system of education and paid a visit to Bardoli also. I found Khaddar in evidence but there were no signs of the complete removal of untouchability. In the meeting, which I addressed, some untouchables mixed with the other, but when the family of my own host went home from the meeting, they all bathed with their clothes on.

My Remonstrance.

I was to leave Navasari on the 1st of December 1921. I heard that Gandhiji was going to Bardoli and I sent word that I would be grateful if he met me at Surat in the afternoon of that day. Mahatmaji very kindly agreed and I reached the Ashram where he was putting up. As I had to leave the same night by the Peshawar Mail I plunged into the subject at once and gave free expression to my opinion. Dr. Dixit, Shrimati Ansuya Devi and more than a dozen of his other immediate disciples were present. I asked Mahatmaji to name a single non-co-operator whom he saw engaged in the riots. His reply was that he saw them with his own eyes. In reply I said that he, most probably, saw some of the rioters clad in Gandhi Cap and Khaddar and I know as a fact that about 500 C.I.D. men from Northern India were clad in pure Khaddar. I further drew his attention to a note in the (Bombay) Times of India that there was revulsion of feeling of the Prince of Wales hundreds of Gandhi Caps were being waved with the wearers hurrahing the Royal train. These men, I said, were C.I.D. men.

Gandhiji was cast down and the faith of Congress men, even, was shaken; but the Government, foolishly, gave a challenge to the people by introducing the Criminal Amendment Act and there was again a revulsion of feeling in favour of Gandhiji and against the British bureaucracy. I, myself, was ready to press for a change of programme but the wholesale arrests and convictions which the Government began under the new repressive measures sealed my lips and compelled me to join those who had taken up the gauntlet thrown by the Government.

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There was a great upheaval in the country. At Delhi too, batches of 25 to 50 were daily going out as volunteers courting arrest. While the rank and file were boldly resorting to Civil disobedience, the Presidents of the District and Provincial Congress Committee at Delhi were keeping themselves safe at home. I used to go with the Volunteer Corps to see that no amount of provocation forced the people to violence. I was glad to find that our volunteers remained calm under the gravest provocation. In the meantime I commenced house to house and shop to shop collections for the Delhi Martyrs' Memorial. In spite of repeated requests none of the Delhi Congress leaders helped me in the Collections. My work of Collection was in full swing when I was called away to attend the Congress at Ahmedabad during the last week of December 1921.

The Acme of Enthusiasm.

The Pandal, the Khadinagar, the Swadeshi exhibition of things, music and men—every thing was superb. Khaddar was never so much in evidence nor did it remain afterwards: You could not distinguish the Punjabi, the Bengalee, the Gujrati, the Mahratta, the Madrasi &c., from each other until they spoke and acted. Gandhi Cap and Khaddar Dhoti-Shirt was the order of the day. Political enthusiasm was at its highest and the outward exhibition of Unity had reached its culminating point. But signs were not wanting that the decline would begin soon.

Change in Muslim View-Point.

The first warning was sounded when the question of condemning the Moplahs for their atrocities on Hindus came up

in the Subjects Committee. The original resolution condemned the Moplahs wholesale for the killing of Hindus and burning of Hindu homes and the forcible conversion to Islam. The Hindu members themselves proposed amendments till it was reduced to condemning only certain individuals who had been guilty of the above crimes. But some of the Muslim leaders could not bear this even. Maulana Fakhir and other Maulanas, of course, opposed the resolution and there was no wonder. But I was surprised when an out and out Nationalist like Maulana Hasrat Mohani opposed the resolution on the ground that as the Mopla country no longer remained Dar-ul-Aman but became Dar-ul-harab and as they suspected the Hindus of collusion with the British enemies of the Moplahs, therefore the Moplahs were right in presenting the Quran or sword to the Hindus. And if the Hindus became Musalmans to save themselves from death it was a voluntary change of faith and not forcible conversion.- Well even the harmless resolution condemning some of the Moplahs was not unanimously passed but had to be accepted by a majority of votes only. There were other indications also showing that the Musalmans considered the Congress to be existing on their sufferance and if there was the least attempt to ignore their idiosyncrasies the superficial unity should be snapped asunder.

There was great difference between Gandhiji of 1st December whom I met at Surat and the Mahatmaji whose Darshan I had on reaching Ahmedabad on the 23rd of the same month. At Surat he appeared to be cast down: at Ahmedabad he was soaring in the heavens; because the British bureaucracy had helped him by their repressive policy.

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And this exuberance of spirit led the Mahatmajī into another Himalayan blunder for which there is no space today.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



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XXII

ANOTHER HIMALAYAN BLUNDER.

While preparations for the holding of the Congress session at Ahmedabad were almost complete under the personal guidance of the then spiritual King of India, the Viceroy of the Temporal power was making preparations for the reception of the Prince of Wales at Calcutta. Lord Reading had invited the Prince of Wales relying on the words of Malviyaji that His Royal Highness would have an enthusiastic reception by the people, but when he reached Calcutta he again found that the visit of the Prince was likely to be more completely boycotted there than even at Bombay and Madras. Lord Reading thought of coming to some terms with the leaders of the people. The late Deshbandhu C.R. Das was taken from jail to the Governor's place in the night, and was offered terms for calling off the hartal, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Babu Shyam Sunder Chakravarty were consulted and wires were exchanged with Mahatma Gandhi. Although Das, Nehru, Lalaji, Azad and a host of other prominent leaders had only recently been clapped up in jail and had offered a willing sacrifice, yet I knew it as a fact that almost all

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of the Congress leaders were ready for some understanding with the Government if only the initiative was taken by the King's representative and a fitting occasion had arrived. I read the whole telegraphic correspondence on reaching Ahmedabad and my impression is that if Mahatmaji had not put down his foot on the negotiations, the leaders on the spot would have welcomed any honourable compromise with the Government. Even after the hartal Malviyaji and Mr. Jinnah came with a message from Calcutta. In the night some fifty workers and more met informally and Mr. Jinnah urged a compromise with all the force at his command in a persuasive little speech, the majority of those present were moved and it was decided that Malviyaji would place the proposal before the Subjects Committee the next day. But when the next day came and after urging his plea with a sweet silver tongue Malviyaji had impressed the greater portion of his audience with the reasonableness of his proposal, he, most injudiciously, began a panegyric of Lord Reading, the whole aspect of the affair was changed and the proposal was almost unanimously lost. But I am sure that if Mahatmaji had allowed sufficient time to others for a discussion, something favourable to future would have been the result.

A logical consequence of brushing aside Malviyaji's proposal of compromise was the memorable Ahmedabad resolution by virtue of which Mahatma Gandhi was named the first Dictator on emergency arising, with power to name his successor if arrested and every succeeding dictator was given the power to appoint his successor. How this proposal was manoeuvred by Mahatmaji is not forgotten by those who took part in that memorable controversy. The Maharashtra party had come prepared to oppose the proposition but Gandhiji, like a consummate statesman, postponed the discussion to the next day and in the

meantime met the Tilakites in the night. The whole attitude of that party was changed and in the next meeting of the Subjects Committee Mr. Abhyankar who roared like a lion the first day was almost dumb the next day. Whoever opposed the Mahatma's motion was taken aside and succumbed to the magic wand of the Mahatma's personal appeal. Then it was demanded by a strong minority, who had conscientious scruples as to the appointment of a dictator but subscribed heartily to the Civil Disobedience of the Criminal Amendment rules that the resolution be split up and votes taken separately on the question of the appointment of successive dictators. I was also one of these objectors. We were ready to appoint Mahatmaji as Dictator but were against allowing him or his successors to appoint their own successor without the sanction of the Working Committee. But Mahatmaji's handling of the situation was again successful and the resolution was passed by a majority, although a substantial number of members remained not voting. We could not but accept the challenge of Government in inaugurating oppressive measures but could not conscientiously accept the indiscriminate appointment of dictators.

Well, the resolution drafted by Mahatmaji was passed by an overwhelming majority in the open Session mainly because no amendment to the resolution could be moved there.

There was little flutter in the open Session when Maulana Hasrat Mohani stood up to move his proposal for the attainment of Swarajya by going out of the British Empire and 'hear' began to be heard from several corners. But a simple, statesman-like speech by the idol of the people demolished the structure M. Mohani had raised up.

TOWARDS DICTATORSHIP

Deshbandu Chitranjan Das, the president elect was in jail; at the recommendation of Mahatmaji, Hakeem Ajmal Khan had been appointed to officiate for him, but the actual business was transacted by Mahatmaji. When the subjects Committee met to elect a Working Committee, Mahatmaji pressed for appointing Members who could completely Cooperate with the first Dictator. Shri Vithalbhai Patil moved that members nominated by Mahatma Gandhi be accepted; Mr. Jamna Das Mehta seconded. To me it appeared they wanted to show Mahatmaji the unreasonability of his demand. But Mahatmaji took them seriously and retired to nominate members. That was the first step towards dictatorship. The second was the ultimatum to the Government of India for inaugurating Mass Civil Disobedience in Bardoli after the lapse of 15 days.

As Lala Lajpat Rai was in Jail, the Punjab delegates wanted me to go with them while Hakeem Ajmal Khan wanted me at Delhi. I referred them both to Mahatmaji who decided in favour of Delhi. As I had come from Delhi at a time when collections by me for the Martyr's Memorial fund were in full force, I wanted to go back at once, but I had given previous promises to the Aryasamajes at Bombay, Akola and some other places in Berar to join their Anniversary Meetings.

So, I left for Bombay on the evening of 30th December but before leaving I asked Gandhiji whether he had fixed any date for beginning Mass Civil Disobedience at Bardoli. He told me that he had not decided yet. But when I reached Bombay I read his ultimatum in the papers as also his assumption of de facto Dictatorship by writing authoritatively in Young India. What my mental attitude about his doings was will appear from the

following preface to an article which I sent to Bombay papers :-

"The Dictator asserting himself. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is still in working order; yet Mahatma Gandhi has thought fit to issue his dictum on the attitude of those who insist upon complete independence as the goal of Indian aspirations at the present moment. Perhaps Mahatmaji thinks that the time for him to assume complete dictatorship has arrived. This was the misgiving which troubled me, with several others, at Ahmedabad. And had not Mahatmaji very skilfully succeeded in inducing those who had moved the amendment about dictatorships to withdraw it and to concentrate themselves on the whole resolution being thrown out by the house which, he must have known, was impossible, the amendment could have been moved in open Congress. Disagreeing as I do, with Mahatma Gandhi in several details of non-violent non-co-operation (non-violence in thought, word and deed being, in my opinion, the essence of the whole movement) and strongly deprecating his temerity in giving authoritative expression to his personal views on the principles of Hindu religion without having studied its Gospels in original, I have still worked with him because it is his movement alone in which lies, in my opinion, the salvation of our Motherland at the present moment. But, all the respect and veneration which I have for his deviance character cannot restrain me from protesting against his recent communique which has appeared in 'Young India' of 5th January, 1922."

Before the arrival of the date of Bardoli Satyagrah, Pandit Malviyaji called a Round Table Conference of the different political parties in the country and the Bardoli Satyagrah was adjourned till January 31st. Malviyaji's Round Table Conference was again an utter failure. But before they met at Bombay I wrote twice to Mahatma Gandhi from Akola telling him plainly that a majority of the Congress leaders appeared to be anxious for some kind of compromise and

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therefore he would do well to relax a little in his stiff attitude.

When the further period of grace was about to expire, Mahatmaji called a meeting of workers at Bardoli on 29th January 1922 and after having passed a resolution for starting Mass Civil Disobedience in right earnest sent his memorable ultimatum to the Viceroy.

Shraddhandana Sanyasi.



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XXIII

THE FATE OF MEMORIAL COLLECTION.

I returned from my tour in the South on the exact date laid down by Hakeem Ajmal Khan Sahib. At Ahmedabad he told my Arya brethren that he could spare me till 20th January 1922 and they were not the men to release me before that date. So I reached Delhi on the morning of 20th January. On the 21st again left my Ashram for collection of funds for the Delhi Martyr's memorial. In the way I stopped to see Dr. Ansari at his Dispensary over the Fatehpuri Masjid and I was astounded to hear from him that they had begun collection for the Angora fund; that they (Hakeem Sahib and himself) had, so far collected fifty thousand rupees and no other collection should stand in their way till they had completed their quota of one lakh.

The cause of my astonishment was this. I had already exhausted my work among the Hindus and the rest of the money was to be collected from Muslim gentlemen among whom I had begun my begging campaign, when I had to leave for Ahmedabad at the earnest importunity of Hakeem Sahib. Well, I

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made a show of begging work anticipated me and told all the Muslim sympathisers of the Congress not to respond to my call, till one lakh had been collected towards the Angora fund.

Then I asked Hakeem Sahib and Dr. Ansari to allow me to begin Satyagrah against the Criminal Amendment Act. I was told that they would not allow Satyagrah to begin in Delhi until a thousand Volunteers had been enlisted after taking the new oath. I enquired of the enlisting officer the exact number of those already enlisted and it appeared their number exceeded 12000 sounds. I again went to Dr. Ansari, who was President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, and asked his permission to begin work, but he was ready with a new excuse. He said that companies were being formed and naiks, etc, being nominated. Then it was lieutenants and after that Captains had to be elected. Every time that I saw Dr. Ansari, his reply was that when a Commander-in-chief was appointed he would call me to give my blessing to the whole army and then Satyagrah would begin.

In the meantime the ladies at Delhi had formed their own Volunteer Corps and asked me to go to the District Congress office and give them my blessing. On going to the Congress office I found about 60 ladies there to whom I distributed the Volunteer badges and gave my hearty blessing. There was not a single Muslim lady amongst them. On enquiry I found that some of the Muslim ladies were ready to join if only Mrs. Ajmal Khan and Mrs. Ansari would lead the way but those ladies could not go out.

Having got my blessing, the ladies' corps began to tour

through the city singing patriotic songs and calling upon the citizens of Delhi to observe complete hartal on the arrival of the Prince of Wales. In the capacity of President of the Hindu Gorakshini Sabha, I sent round posters asking for Hartal at the arrival of a Prince who had come to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy which sanctioned cow-killing in the cantonments and for the civil population and for the purpose of trade in hides and preserved beef. But the army of Congress volunteers never came out, and on the day fixed for getting my blessing for disciplined National Army, Mr. Abbas Hussain Qary came with the Bardoli resolution and everything was over.

I may remark, in passing, that the President of the Provincial and District Congress Committee at Delhi all along remained in touch with the authority at Delhi through a Muslim Government Pensioner who is well-know but who should be allowed to remain nameless.

Such was the situation at Delhi when Gandhiji had already published his ultimatum addressed to the Viceroy before beginning Satyagrah and the Viceroy' reply had also become public property. I was disgusted with the doings of the Delhi Congress leaders and penned the following letter to Mahatma Gandhi-

Delhi 7th February 1922.

Revered Mahatmaji.

I am again writing to you to day. I read your letter addressed to the Viceroy. If there is not complete preparation for Satyagrah in Bardoli, I do not understand why so much hurry about it. Compared to that Delhi is not the least prepared for

mass civil disobedience. I read the reply of the Viceroy also. It is full of fallacious arguments. He has faith in his physical strength.

I will only stay here till the arrival of the Prince. The leaders here do not want to move at all. The contracts of spirits and intoxicating drugs were auctioned. It did not move anybody. I have distributed posters on behalf of the Hindu Sabha for complete Hartal, but as long as the Presidents of the District and Provincial Congress Committee do not give their sanction, nothing can be done.

There is no work here for opposing the repressive policy of the Government. Ladies are going in procession while males are hiding their faces in their homes. Therefore I cannot be useful in this work. And as for mass civil disobedience, in which the principal item is the readiness for non-payment of taxes, Delhi is neither ready with the propaganda of wearing Khaddar, spinning charkhas and weaving on pitlooms nor has the Congress succeeded in removing disgust towards the Untouchables; what to talk of the possibility of a calm atmosphere. Besides this I do not agree with many of the remaining items of non-cooperation.

For these reasons I shall leave Delhi either on 15th or 16th of February, 1922 and retire for writing a history of the Aryasamaj. That God may help you in the attainment of complete Swaraj as He has blessed your efforts in infusing a spirit of Truth, Fearlessness and True Liberty in the Indian people, is my humble prayer.

I do not agree in the concluding portion of your letter (to the Viceroy) in which you make new demands. The meaning of it will be that there could be no mutual understanding."

And now let me give my own version of the results of the Bardoli affair.

THE BARDOLI MUDDLE.

On 13th October 1921 Gandhiji wrote in Young India an article under the heading-"The fear of death." In the course of that article he wrote:-

"When we attain Swaraj many of us will give up the fear of death.... Till now mostly young boys have died in the cause. Those who died in Aligarh were all below 21. No one knew who they were. If Government resort to firing now, I am hoping that some men of the first rank will have the opportunity of offering up the supreme sacrifice."

Again when repression was in full swing and Jails were being filled up by non-violent non-co-operating patriots Gandhiji wrote in Young India of 22nd December, 1921:-"A cautious friend... tells me that suffering has only just begun, that for the ends in view we must pay a much higher price still. He really expects that we shall have to invite a repetition of Jallianwalas..... I assure the friend that my optimism has room for all these things and much worse than he can imagine. But I perceive, too, that if India remains calm and unperturbed and does not retaliate even mentally- a very difficult process, I admit, and yet not so very preparedness and consequent absence of reaction will exhaust the brute spirit for want of nutrition, and Lord Reading

will exhaust the brute spirit instead of talking big things to us, will himself adopt the human language of penitence and see ample occasion if Indian atmosphere for a new diplomacy."

The misery of the whole situation was that the "ifs" of the Mahatma were almost always ignored even by educated men, and the conditions laid down by the optimistic Mahatma being completely ignored, the followers, without resorting to introspection, took it for granted that what Mahatmaji expected of them had actually become an accomplished fact.

After the collapse of the Malviya Conference at Bombay, the Bardoli Satyagrah Committee of which Mr. Vallabh Bhai Patel had been appointed President by Mahatma Gandhi met at Baradoli, of which a report appeared in Young Indian dated 2nd February, 1922. Let me cull a few extracts from it:- "There was an audience of Khaddar-clad representatives numbering 4,000 (The whole population of Bardoli being 85,000). There were 500 women, a large majority of whom were also in Khaddar... I took the sense of the meeting on every one of the conditions separately. They understood the implications.... There was one dissentient voice on the question of untouchability. He said, what I said was right in theory but it was difficult in practice to break down the custom all of a sudden. I drove the point home that the audience had made up its mind."

I have already shown in a previous article that untouchability had not gone out of Bardoli. Those, who met the untouchables in public meeting before Gandhiji, bathed with their clothes on when they returned home. Gandhiji had his own doubts about the fulfilment of the promises of Bardoli people and writes in the

same article:-

"Before that (public) meeting, Vithalbhai Patel, some workers and I conferred together and fled that we should pass a resolution postponing the decision for about a fortnight, to make the Swadeshi preparation more complete and removal of untouchability more certain by actually having untouchable children in all the sixty National Schools. The brave and earnest workers of Bardoli will not listen to the postponement. They were certain that more than 50 per cent of the Hindu population were quite ready about untouchability and they were sure of being able to manufacture enough Khaddar for their future wants. They were bent on trying conclusions with the Government."

I was sorry to see Mahatmaji carried away by the enthusiasm of the moment. Being quite ready did not mean that the goal had actually been reached.

Chauri-Chaura was written in the destiny of the Indian Nation and it came like a thunderbolt. The reaction would not have been so crushing if preparations had not been announced with a flourish of trumpets. Before leaving his Sabarmati Ashram for Bardoli, Mahatma Gandhi met more than a quarter lakh of people in the sands on the banks of Sabarmati river. The occasion was unique. The loin-cloth clad uncrowned King of the people speaking in burning words with all the strength at his command:- "I wish there were several Jallianwalas in Gujrat. I wish I would be killed by the British bullets. I wish Gujratis be killed in large numbers by British bullets... and so on." When that simple speech of about five sentences was flashed by wire, the

whole country was electrified. But the collapse was terrible.

I was, all along, against taking any hasty steps and when, even after reading the Chauri Chaura tragedy in the papers Mahatma Gandhi went on with his rejoinder to Lord Reading and published it, I sent the following telegram to Gandhiji, at Bardoli:-

"Horrible Chauri Chaura affair. Kindly stop aggressive propaganda. Call All-India meeting Delhi. Devise new programme."

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THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE AT DELHI.

The Bardoli Working Committee resolution passed on 11th February 1922 was simple enough. It called back all the activities undertaken under the pledge of non-violent non-cooperation including offensive preparations for mass civil disobedience. It said:- "The suspension of mass Civil Disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hooliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on the 17th November 1921 and 13th January last (1922)." After putting the resolution in full the Working Committee ruled:- "The foregoing resolutions will have effect only pending the meeting to be especially convened of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the Secretary to call such meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakeem Ajmal Khan (the de jure President at the time.)"

On the 12th February, 1922 another meeting of the Working Committee was held and the well known constructive programme was formulated.

The Liberator, Vol. I No.24, Delhi, Thursday 30th Sept. 1926.

A meeting of the A.I.C.C. for confirming the above resolutions was called for the 24th and 25th of February, 1922 at Delhi. On the morning of 24th Gandhiji called a meeting of select leaders only because he wanted to read, in their presence, the protests which he had received against the Working Committee's Bardoli resolution from leaders like C.R. Dass, Pandit Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and from Gandhiji's faithful disciples like Mahadeva Desai and George Joseph who were rotting in Jail. I need not go into details as to the bitter complaints that they made and the disappointment that they felt at Mahatmaji's utter failure to grasp the situation. The leaders out of Jail and the rank and file also came prepared to press either for a partial revival of the four or five boycotts or for a complete change of programme. Mahatmaji had called a consultative body of select leaders but there was a large gathering among whom two C.I.D., men also forced their way and it was with difficulty that I got them excluded.

The deliberations began. Seeing a revulsion of feeling among many, Mahatmaji adopted a temporizing policy. Gradually some kinds of boycotts began to be allowed and the Bardoli Working Committee resolution as amended by Gandhiji stood finally as follows- "The All-India Congress Committee having carefully considered the resolution passed by the Working Committee at its meeting on the 11th and 12th instant, confirms the said resolutions noted therein and-

"Further resolves that individual civil disobedience whether of a defensive or aggressive character may be commenced in respect of particular places or particular laws at the instance of and upon permission being granted therefore by the respective Provincial Committee, provided that such Civil Disobedience shall

not be permitted unless at the conditions laid down by the Congress or the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee are strictly fulfilled.

"Reports having been received from various quarters that picketing regarding foreign cloth is as necessary as liquor picketing, the A.I.C.C. authorizes such picketing of a bona-fide character on the same terms as liquor picketing mentioned in the Bardoli resolutions. The A.I.C.C. wishes it to be understood that the resolutions of the Working Committee do not mean any abandonment of the original Congress Programme of non-co-operation or permanent abandonment of Mass Civil Disobedience, but considers that an atmosphere of necessary mass non-violence can be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme framed by the Working Committee.

"The A.I.C.C. holds Civil Disobedience to be the right and duty of the people to be exercised and performed whenever the state opposes the declared will of the people."

When the above amended resolution was placed before the A.I.C.C. in the evening, amendments poured down like mushrooms and the members began to give vent to their feelings. While others were simply advocating a reversion to non-co-operation pure and simple, Dr. B.S. Moonje of Nagpur utilized the occasion for urging the शठं प्रति शठं कुरु यात् सादरं प्रति सादरम् policy i.e. 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' and quoted the well-known verse of the Mahabharat :-

यस्मिन् यथ। वर्तते यो मनुष्यः।
 तस्मिन् तथा वर्तितव्यम् सधर्मः॥
 मायाचारो मायया बाधितव्यः।
 साध्वाचारः साधुना प्रत्युपेयः॥

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This verse means, in a nutshell, that falsehood should not be attempted to be conquered by Truths, but by diplomacy. He urged a complete change of programme and urged for an enquiry into the whole scheme of work of the Congress, Gandhiji again played the same game as was tried at the Ahmedabad Congress and advised the proposers of amendments to consult with Mr. Vithal Bhai Patel, the officiating General Secretary, and reduce all their propositions to a general amendment because their several amendments overlapped each other. And for this purpose the sitting was adjourned for the next day. And it was wisely done; because Dr. Moonje and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya had made some impression upon the audience and if those amendments had been put to vote immediately the result was uncertain.

I had also proposed an amendment, which ran as follows:-

"I. Add the following at the end of today's additional resolution :- The All-Indian Congress Committee further rules that the Congress shall not be responsible for any violence committed by persons outside the Congress organisation and in case of any individual members of the Congress being guilty of violence he shall be expelled from all Congress committee and bodies.

If the above amendment is rejected I move:-

II. That all civil disobedience whether individual or mass, be abandoned for the future."

The next day I, too, went to Dr. Ansari's place where Gandhiji and Mr. Vithal Bhai had put up. The other movers of amendments were easily induced to withdraw their proposals but all the arguments of Mr. Vithalbhai failed to convince me. Then

there was no other resource left for him but to take me to Mahatmaji. Malviyaji, Mr. T. Prakasham and some other leaders were sitting with him at the time. All the arguments advanced by Mahatmaji, also, failed to induce me to withdraw. My chief objection was an conscientious one. I did not believe that "an atmosphere of necessary mass nonviolence could be established by the workers concentrating upon the constructive programme" alone as long as the C.I.D. was there to work mischief. Further, I did not believe that an atmosphere for Mass Civil disobedience could be manufactured. For these reasons I could not agree to withdraw the amendment. At the end Mahatmaji appealed to my sense of the ridiculour. He said-"No body will support you in the meeting and it will be a shame for me to see my Bhai Saheb's amendment thrown away for want of proper support."

I had got promise of support from a decent minority, which included, among others, Baba Kharak Singh, the single-minded austere patriot President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee; but the only reply I gave was- "Mahatma ! You alone have not the monopoly of conscience. I, too, have a conscience and if by acting according to its dictates I am reduced to a minority of one, I shall only be following you in standing to my guns." But Mahatmaji still wanted me to withdraw. I asked whether my insistence would hamper work in the Committee. All the talk was in Hindi and I am giving a gist of it. Mahatmaji replied in his usual straightforward manner- "Ham ko meeting men harkkat hogi." I at once gave in and promised to withdraw my amendment in the open session, but said at the same time that I shall have nothing to do with the active work of the Congress after that.

Accordingly I retired to resume my literary work at

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Kurukshetra and sent in my formal resignation from all executive work of the Congress, on 12th March, 1922, to Dr. M.A. Ansari, the President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



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I had no intention of parading all the incidents relating to the circumstances under which I withdrew my amendment but when Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, in the capacity of General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., gave out in public that I withdrew my amendment without going any reasons I had to send the whole account to the Press. Different interpretations were being put on my amendments. In the Young India of 2nd March, 1922 Mahatmaji gave his own version of my attitude. He wrote :—"I hold that Swami Shraddhanandaji has been needlessly criticised for the proposition he intended to move. His agreement is absolutely honest. He thinks that we, as a body, do not really believe in non-violence even as a policy. Therefore we shall never fulfil the programme of non-violence. Therefore, he says, let us go to the Councils, and get what crumbs we may. He was trying to show the unreality of the position of those who believe in the policy with their lips, whereas they are looking forward to violence for final deliverance. I do say that, if congressmen do not fully believe in the policy, they are doing an injury to the country

pretending to follow it. If violence is to be the basis of future Government, Councillors are undoubtedly the wisest. For it is through the Councils that by the same devices by which the present administrators rule us, the Councillors hope to seize power from the former's hand."

Mahatma Gandhi saw with an unerring eye my actual position because I had frequently pointed out to him how his most devoted colleagues nursed the idea of ultimately obtaining Swaraj by violence and how they considered the policy of non-violent non-co-operation simply as a bluff to induce the bureaucracy to enter into some compromise with them. And this is the reason why I am against the Swarajya party contesting seats in the coming elections. Their theory, however grandiloquently expressed, does not tally with their practice. And if Mahatma Gandhi has not changed his views since he wrote on 2nd March, 1922 he ought to advise the Swarajists to leave the Responsive-Co-operationists, Independent Congressionalist and half a dozen others of that ilk, severely alone to go to the Councils for paying the bureaucracy in its own coin, and to work the constructive programme in order to bring about an atmosphere of non-violence in mind, speech and practice.

This is by the way. Let me make another except from Gandhiji's writings in Young India of 2nd March 1922-

"A friend warned me against exploiting my dictatorship. He little knew that I had never once used it... Far from my consciously or unconsciously exploiting my dictatorship, I have begun to wonder if I am not unconsciously allowing myself to be 'exploited.' I confess I have a dread of it such as I never had before."

It is literally true that at the A.I.C.C. of 24th and 25th February, 1922, at Delhi, Gandhiji was actually exploited. Advantage was taken of his conscientious weakness and he was compelled to submit to the whims of his colleagues against his better judgment. A Dictator, to be successful, ought to be made of harder and strainer stuff than the Saint of Sabarmati.

To continue my story Dr. M.A. Ansari went to attend the Provincial Political Congress at Ajmere where Mahatmaji was to preside and brought a message from him in order to induce me not to press my resignation. The message said that Gandhiji was thinking of a future programme according to which the campaign of mass Civil Disobedience, when once started, will never come to a stop until Swaraj was obtained. But on his return from Ajmere Mahatmaji was arrested and finally convicted on 18th March, 1922.

The text of my resignation dated 12nd March 1922 was as follow :-

"I am leaving Delhi for Kurukshetra tomorrow and will not be able to take part in any of the Congress deliberations in the near future. I believe that time will never come when a nonviolent calm atmosphere, according to the high ideal propounded by Mahatma Gandhi, could be produced among the Indian masses and therefore to agree to the proposition that Civil Disobedience of laws could be started at all in the near future, would, for me, be acting against my conscience. Moreover, I differ from the Working Committee in my attitude towards some items of the non-co-operation propaganda. I, therefore, beg to resign from all offices in the Congress organisation. It might, perhaps, be urged

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that now that Mahatmaji has been snatched away from us by the bureaucracy I should forget my difference of opinion. But at the time of withdrawing my amendment from the A.I.C.C. meeting, I made it perfectly clear to Mahatmaji that consistently with my beliefs I could no longer remain in the executive of the organisation and I would be true neither to Mahatmaji nor to myself if any such consideration could stand in the way of the discharge of what I consider to be my duty."

Dr. Ansari told me, when I met him next, that he would not put my resignation before the Provincial C.C. and urged me not to insist upon it. Then I was invited to join the Punjab Conference at Batala, where Mr. Patel urged that it was the opinion of Mahatmaji only and was not supported by any resolution of the Working or the A.I.C.C. that a man holding my views should leave the executive bodies. Mr. Patel and other leaders made it clear to me that the majority agreed with my view that we could not be responsible for violence occurring outside Congress organisation. On this I agreed to work for the constructive programme and again urged the Congress to take up the question of the removal of untouchability.

I was engaged in my literary work at Kurukshetra and it was from that place that I left for Batala on the morning of 24th April, 1922 and on my way broke journey at Ludhiana, Jalandhar and Batala trying to put life into Congress workers and delivering public lectures. The Punjab Provincial Conference at Baala lasted from 28th to 30th April, 1922. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, Mr. Abbas Tyabji, Lala Duni Chand and all the Punjab leaders were there and all pressed me to help

them because it was a mistake to treat Mahatma Gandhi's opinion as the dictum of the Congress itself. What appealed to me specially was the incarceration of Gandhiji in Jail which had damped the spirit of the Indian people. I agreed to make a tour of the Punjab for rousing the Congress workers to a sense of their duty and lead them to the completion of the constructive programme, and delivered two lectures at Batala on the concluding day of the Conference. On my way back I again spoke at Amritsar and passed some days at Delhi and Kurukshetra for recruitment of my health. On 18th May I was called to Ambala because it was the date of Mahatmaji's being sentenced and it had been unanimously resolved to celebrate the 18th of every month in order to pray for the speedy restoration of Mahatmaji to his people. I mention this simply to emphasize one point. Gandhiji had ruled that the one Karor (ten million rupees) which was collected up to June 1921 ought to be spent within one year. He was not for having a funded capital for Congress work. He held that hoarding money was one source of disunity and creation of parties. The Indian people, he said, was their funded capital and their श्रद्धा (Faith) was the interest which should be collected and spent every year. His motto appeared to be -

घर बार दे दफ़न को कौड़ी न रख कफ़न को ।

जिसने दिया है तन का, देगा वही कफ़न का ।।

And his devoted followers were determined to act up to his advice. They spent money like water, an illustration of which was related to me by the Secretary. Ambala is only 26 miles from Kurukshetra and I travelled inter class as it was day time. I reached Ambala Cantonment at 1 p.m., delivered one lecture

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among ladies, motored in a private car to the city where I spoke in a public meeting and returning to the Cantonment at 8 p.m., gave a discourse and remained in the meeting up to 11 in the night. But when I went to the Railway Station the next morning my surprise was great when two first class tickets were handed over to me, one for myself and the other for Manager of the Kurukshetra Gurukula, who had accompanied me. I insisted on the tickets being changed to a lower-class. The Secretary appeared dissatisfied and complained that I did not allow them to serve me. After a great deal of haggling the truth came out. The Secretary named a leader, who will be nameless here, who arrived by the same train as I came by, last month, who left the same night by a midnight train, for whom a special motorcar was engaged which cost them Rs. 200 and whose travelling and other expenses came up to Rs. 250 more. The Secretary urged me to accept a purse which, of course, I refused. I says astounded and told him not to play fast and loose with public money. After that I found in several places that the Congress workers had obeyed Gandhiji to the very letter and had paid no attention to the spirit of his noble advice.

After paying visits to three more places, I went to attend the A.I.C.C., Meeting at Lucknow. In the way I stopped to organize a Sadhu Mahamandal at Hardwar, the foundation of which had been laid at Ahmedabad during the Congress Session. I reached Lucknow on the morning of 6th June.

I had gone to Lucknow to press my proposal for the appointment of a Sub-Committee for the removal of Untouchability in the meeting of the A.I.C.C. Members from all parts of the

country were assembled. My proposal came out of the Working Committee a little mutilated but in the A.I.C.C. meeting I again restored its chief feature. But the chief work for which the meeting was called appeared to be to devise means for removing the general depression which had set in after the removal of Mahatma Gandhi to Jail. In the meeting, leaders from Bengal and other places were pressing for starting Mass Civil disobedience again on a larger scale because, they said, the trust of the people could only be restored by this means. Mr. Sen Gupta was considered to be the successor of Deshbandhi Chitrajandas, who was in Jail, and I asked his opinion in private, as he had not opened his mouth in the meeting. His reply was an eye-opener for me. He said-"The people are not at all ready for Civil disobedience, whether individual or mass; but if I am asked to give my opinion in open meeting I, too, shall roar like a lion." I consulted others in private and all agreed as to the futility of trying to stick to Civil disobedience and wanted a change of programme; but the question was- who was to bell the cat. Pt. Motilal had just come out of Jail and the united wisdom of the leaders, among whom Malviyaji was prominent, drafted a resolution appointing a Committee of enquiry and thus postponing the day of reckoning. I protested against another waste of money, Swami Satyadeva and a few others supported me. The philosopher of Benares, Pandit Bhagwandas M.A., came out with a very practical programme of work which, in my opinion, would have saved the situation and would have made the rise of the Swaraj party unnecessary. But who would care for the most practical proposals of a philosopher who feared to push himself forward to public notice. The leaders were determined to leave

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the rank and file in futile hopes rather than face their discontent boldly and the resolution for spending some thousands more on a fruitless enquiry was passed by an overwhelming majority. The result of the enquiry was foreseen by all of us and the board of enquiry took good care that no one was examined who held a different opinion from their own. When the members of the board had already made up their minds before going out, the result could well be foreseen. It is a matter of history how advantage was taken, of their own dictum, by the members of the Committee of enquiry in launching a new party with a view to remove the clog of non-co-operation out of the way of Council entry and responsive Co-operation. As regards the fate of my proposal for taking measures for the removal of untouchability-it will require a separate article of itself.

Shraddhananda Sanyasi.



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The following correspondence will show how my efforts for working the constructive programme were frustrated:-

My first letter.

To- The General Secretary,
All-India Congress Committee, Camp Delhi.

I acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your letters No. 331 and 332 embodying resolutions of the Working Committee and of the A.I.C.C., agent untouchability. I observe with pain that the resolution of the A.I.C.C., as at present worded, does not include the whole of what was passed by the committee.

The facts are these, I sent the following letter to Mr. Vithalbhai Patel (the then) General Secretary, on 23rd May 1922, which was also published by the principal Dailies of the country.

'My dear Mr. Patel,

There was a time (vide Young India of 25th May, 1921) when Mahatmaji put the question of untouchability in the fore-

front of the Congress programme. I find now that the question of raising the depressed classes had been relegated to an obscure corner. While Khadi claims the attention of some of our best workers and a liberal sum (Rs. 17 lakhs) has been earmarked for it, for the year, while a strong subcommittee has been appointed to look after national education and a special appeal for funds is to be made for the same, the question of the removal of untouchability has been shelved by making small grants to Ahmedabad, and Madras. I am of opinion that with a majority of 6 crores of our brethren set against us by the bureaucracy even the Khadi Scheme can not succeed completely. The Members of the Working Committee, perhaps, do not know that on this side our suppressed brethren are leaving off Khadi and taking to buying cheap foreign cloth. I want to move the following resolution in the meeting of the A.I.C.C., which comes off on the 7th of June next at Lucknow that a sub-committee consisting of three members of the A.I.C.C. be appointed to give effect to the resolution about the so-called depressed classes, that a sum of five Lakhs of rupees be placed at their disposal for propaganda work and that in future all applications for grants be referred to the said sub-committee for disposal." My proposal was amended by the Working Committee and ran as follow:-

"This Committee hereby appoint a committee consisting of Swami Shraddhanand, Mrs. Sarojni Naidu and Messrs G.B. Deshpande and I.K. Yajnik to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so-called untouchables throughout the country and to place it for consideration before the next meeting of the Working Committee, the amount to be raised for the scheme to be Rs.2 lakhs for the present."

Mr. Patel asked me to accept the Working Committee's proposed resolution in toto. I refused to accept the W.C's. resolution and in the very first sitting of the A.I.C.C. substituted 5 lakhs for 2 lakhs with the condition that one lakh of the same be allotted by the A.I.C.C., out of the funds, in cash and an appeal be made for the balance.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar, on behalf of the Working Committee, proposed that instead of fixing the amount to be allotted out of the Congress funds now, it should be provided that when the scheme was accepted by the Working Committee that committee should allot as much cash as it could then spare for this purpose. I do not recollect the exact words but the purport of the amendment as given above is, to my knowledge, correct.

On this an uproar arose and the query was pressed from all sides that the cash balance in the hands of the A.I.C.C. ought to be announced. The President (Hakeem Ajmalkhan) called me aside and told me in confidence that the Congress possessed very little cash balance and if pressed to disclose the true state of affairs it would harm the movement as outsiders and even C.I.D. people were present. On this I accepted the amendment of Mr. Rajagopalachariar in spite of protests from my seconder and supporters. But my surprise was great when I found the Resolution in the dailies, as reported by the Associated Press, shorn of Mr. Rajagopala Chariar's amendment.

After the above resolution was passed, some members suggested that a convener of the sub-committee ought to be appointed. Several members proposed me as the convener. On this Mr. Vithalbhai Patel (the then General Secretary) got up and said: "As Swami Shraddhanand's name occurs first, naturally he will be the convener and therefore there was no need of moving

any fresh resolution at all."

Members from all parts of the country began to give information to me about untouchability in their provinces and pressed me to visit their parts. On this I made some promises. Then I thought that without some cash for preliminary expenses no enquiries on the spot could be made and hence no proper scheme formulated. I also learnt that Rs. 25,000 had been voted by the Working Committee for "the Independent" of Allahabad and that an application for grant of Rs. 10,000 to the Urdu daily "Congress" of Delhi had been placed by Hakeem Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari before the Working Committee. So, considering, that after all the Congress might not be so hard pressed for cash, I wrote a letter addressed to the President asking him to give the untouchability sub-Committee an advance of Rs. 10,000 for preliminary expenses.

After all this, the following resolution of the Working Committee forwarded by your letter No. 331 is very interesting reading:-

"Read letter from Swami Shradhanand dated 8.6.1922 for an advance for drawing up a scheme for depressed class work- Resolved that Mr. Ganga Dharrao B. Deshpande be appointed convener of the sub-committee appointed for the purpose and he be requested to convene a meeting at an early date. and that Swami Shraddhanand's letter be referred to the sub-committee."

This is another matter which is inexplicable. After my first letter had been acknowledged I addressed the following letter from Hardwar on 3rd June 1922:- "My dear Mr. Patel, I shall leave Hardwar the day after tomorrow and reach Lucknow on the morning of June 6th. You know, that I feel the most for the so-called depressed classes. Even in the Punjab I find that no

attention worth the name has been paid to this item of the constructive programme. In the U.P., of course, it will be an uphill work. But there is another very serious difficulty.

The Bardoli programme in its note under item 4 lays down that, where preivdice is still strong separate schools must be maintained out of the Congress funds. This leaves a loophole for those Congress workers who are either prejudiced against the depressed classes or are weak and no work can be done inducing people to agree to allow the untouchables to draw water from common wells. In the Bijnor District, I learnt, there was no restriction and the untouchables drew water freely from common wells. But in some places fresh prejudice is being engendered under the aegis of the Bardoli resolution note. In my recent visits to Amballa Cant., Ludhiana, Batala, Lahore, Amritsar and Jandiala, I found that the question of the removal of disabilities of the untouchables is being ignored. In and near Delhi it is the Dalitudhar Sabha, of which I am the President, rather than the Congress which is doing appreciable work. I think that unless item (4) of the Bardoli constructive programme is amended in proper form, the work, which I consider to be the most important plank in the Congress programme, will suffer.

Kindly place the following proposal before the President and if he allows it to be placed before the next meeting of the A.I.C.C. I shall move it there—"Instead of the Note under item (4) of the Bardoli resolution, substitute the following note:- The following demands of the depressed classes ought to be complied with at once namely that (a) they are allowed to sit on the same carpet with citizens of other classes (b) they get the right to draw water from common wells and (c) their children get admission into National schools and Colleges and are allowed to mix freely

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with students drawn from the so-called higher castes." I want to impress upon the members of the A.I.C.C. the great importance of this item. I know of cases where the depressed classes are in open revolt against the tyranny of the so-called upper castes and unless the above demands are conceded to them they will succumb to the machinations of the bureaucracy. After my first proposals were passed in the A.I.C.C. Meeting, on June 7th, I asked Mr. Patel to put my proposed amendment of Note to item (4) of Bardoli resolution before the meeting. He told me that the Working Committee would refer it to the sub-committee and asked me not to press it there. I agreed. But I have not received copy of any resolution of the W.C. referring my proposal to the untouchability sub-committee.

The untouchability question is very acute in and near Delhi and I have to grapple with it at once. But the sub-committee cannot begin work off had because the W.C. has to take several other political situations in the country into consideration before deciding upon any scheme of practical measures to be adopted for uprooting untouchability on behalf of the Congress. Under these circumstances I cannot be of any use to the sub-committee and beg to resign from membership.

Yours sincerely,
Shraddhanand Sanyasi.

Delhi, June 30th, 1922.



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Returning to Delhi, from Lucknow on 10th June i began my help to the local District and Provincial Committee. The same day Gyani Sher Singh was given a reception and a Mass Meeting was addressed in the night by me in the Patoudi House Compound. This house had been purchased by me for the Delhi Martyr's memorial.

Hakeem Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari, the Presidents of the Delhi District and Provincial Committees, remaining usually absent from the city and Lala Shankar Lal, Mr. Asafaly, Dr. Rahman and Mr. Deshbandu Gupta &c., being in Jail, I had to do my best with the help of some young workers. The majority of the Muslim Volunteers, who had gone to Jail returned after tendering apologies but when the rest came out in two batches after finishing their full term I made arrangements, at the request of the Delhi Public, to give them a grand reception. I also attended some District Conferences on behalf of Delhi and engaged as I was heart and soul in helping the Depressed Classes, I still found time to help the District and Provincial Committees of Delhi actively and began again the collection of funds for the Delhi Martyr's Memorial.

Before my correspondence with Pandit Motilal Nehru began about the Depressed Classes Sub-Committee, I went to Khorja on 26th June to speak in the Conference over which Pandit Nehru was called to preside. We came to Delhi together and the Congress Enquiry Committee began work at Dr. Ansari's. The following written statement, which I presented to the Committee, will show clearly my attitude towards the general political condition and wants of the country at the time:-

Congress Enquiry Committee.

SWAMI SHRADDHANAND'S WRITTEN STATEMENT

Calcutta, August 14th 1922.

In the course of his statement to the Congress Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee Swami Shraddhananda said that he did not believe in working the constructive programme merely for the purpose of enabling the Congress to launch Civil Disobedience. He believed in working the constructive programme for its own sake and has full faith that if civil disobedience of laws was abandoned, even then, the consecutive programme worked with faith and enthusiasm would lead the country to swaraj. By entering the councils the non-co-operators would be able to work the constructive programme more effectively, but it could only be done usefully if the idea of civil disobedience was abandoned for future. To enter the councils for preparing the country earlier for civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes was a travesty of terms.

Referring to Hindu-Muslim unity he said that outwardly there was no friction but he had noticed in all the provinces that in their hearts the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities have become suspicious of each other. One reason appeared to be that while the Mahomedans and Sikhs were organised among themselves, the Hindus, as a body, were disorganised. The

remedy to his mind lay in Hindu leaders organising their own community and the Mahomedan leaders laying more stress on the attainment of Swaraj than purely upon Khilafat.

In reply to another question he said that his impressions were that while the spirit of non-violence appeared outwardly to be professed, in their hearts people did not believe in non-violence and their speech and mind were full of violent ideas.

Speaking for the Delhi province he considered that the province was not ready for civil disobedience either in part or as a whole.

His opinion was that individual civil disobedience or isolated mass civil disobedience could do no good to the movement. If civil disobedience was to be launched, it must begin simultaneously in all the provinces. But before doing that it ought to be distinctly advertised by the Congress that it would not be responsible for any violence which was committed by any person or body of persons outside the Congress organisations. The congress should on no account stop its work of civil disobedience of laws when once launched. He added that there was no repression in the Delhi province, because the Congress organisations had been practically sleeping there.

Regarding the general situation, the Swami said that the Non-Co-operation movement had produced wonderful self-consciousness in the nation and had achieved within a year and a half the work of half a century.

Repression had not cowed down the movement. The Bardoli resolution sounded the death-knell of the enthusiasm with which the country was permeated. The Delhi resolution failed to resuscitate the dormant spirit. His opinion was that if mass civil disobedience could not be launched (as appeared to be the general opinion of the leaders in all the provinces) with the

condition proposed by him, it was highly advisable to abandon all kinds of civil disobedience and to concentrate the whole energy of the Congress organisation upon the constructive programme.

He suggested that if faith in the constructive programme could, somehow, be injected, there would be no necessity of knocking at the doors of the Councils and the movement would become effective, that the Bureaucracy would be driven to bay in no time and a decisive battle fought.-A.P."

I had almost severed my connection with all active movements of the Congress after my rejoinder to Pandit Nehru had been dispatched at the end of July 1922, but, shortly after, a time came when I again thought of working with the Congress leaders. It was when Devdas Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru were again convicted. I then felt a call to work and sent in my resignation even from the Presidentship of the All-India representative body of the Arya Samajes and was ready to devote myself heart and soul to the Congress work. But again an eye-opener came in the way of the resignation of Mr. N.C. Kelkar. Giving the reasons of his resignation Mr. Kelkar said that Hakeem Ajmal Khan's view was "that office-bearers should not express their views if they differed from the Congress and either they should give up their offices or keep quiet. Further it was urged by him that the office-bearers should only be such men as carry out the congress programme in every detail."

On reading this, after giving details, I wrote to Dr. Ansari- 'As I hold the view that (1) individual Civil Disobedience should be altogether given up, and (2) if we cannot launch Mass Civil Disobedience at once with the ruling that once launched it will not be stooped on account of any violence outside the Congress organisations, we should give up the idea of starting Mass Civil Despondence also, and further as I hold that in order to make our concentration over the constructive programme successful the

Congress workers should freely enter the Councils under the Montford Reform scheme: and as there is, in my opinion, as additional reason for Congress workers to enter the councils - namely, as a reply to the challenge thrown out by the British Premier when he says- "a good deal will depend upon the kind of representatives chosen at the next election," I think I cannot conscientiously remain in the Executive of the Congress and I revive my resignation from all offices sent on 19th March last.

It was for this reason that I refused to become President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee on your tendering your resignation from that office.

This is my last unless the inconceivable happens and the A.I.C.C. at Calcutta decides to start mass civil disobedience simultaneously in all the Provinces when I am pledged to lead the movement in one province, preferably Punjab."

This way my position when I was clapped into jail by the Amritsar Police. On coming out I learnt all about the doings at Gaya and read the arguments for and against each of the views represented there. I was sorry I could not identify myself with any of the parties because both insisted upon launching civil disobedience when the necessary atmosphere of mass non-violence was established which, I did not believe was possible under the circumstances then existing. I wrote at the time:-

"As regards entry into the Councils, it is meaningless unless you mean to take the fullest advantage of your presence there and do not go there for the pure purpose of obstructing all work. It is objected that entry into the Councils means co-operation with the Bureaucracy. Why not call it co-operation with your own people, by helping them there. But it is futile to talk of entry into the Councils unless the Congress rules it by an overwhelming majority.

To sum up-Personally I am neither for entry into the Councils nor for persisting in an idle threat of launching civil disobedience. My faith remains unshaken in the potentiality of the constructive programme alone to win Swaraj and I was ready to concentrate my energies on one of its items which appeared to stand in the way of national unity. But that was not to be."

In the course of an article, which has appeared in the Urdu Bandemataram of Lahore dated 25th September, 1926. Pandit Bhagwan Das, M.A., the level-headed sage of Benares, writes:-

"In September 1923 the respected Shri Motilalji came to my house as a guest for a day. On that day I put it to him, in private, as they were ready to enter into the Councils on behalf of the Swarajya party then, without making complete obstruction their aim, why they should not adopt and preach the policy of Lokmanya Tilak. By doing so several parties, which are separate today, would join forces.... Pandit Motilalji replied that he, too, thought so but the public was not prepared to accept that policy.... For several reasons Shri Motilalji did not consider the propriety of this programme and propagated a new policy. But in his heart he believed that further on they should be obliged to adopt the policy of Responsive Co-operation."

This was in September 1923. But months before that, at the end of February, 1923, I believe, brother Motilal Nehru came to me at Delhi and asked me to join their party as they had adopted the line chalked out by me, in my statement before the Congress Enquiry Committee. My reply was that I had advised the Congressionalists to enter the Council for working them for what they were worth and not for wrecking and running them as was the avowed policy of the Swarajya party. Brother Motilal's reply was frank and straightforward. He said: - "All this was for catching votes at the Gaya Congress. What we will do

in Assembly and the Councils you will see for yourself." And I have followed the course of the Swarajya party in the Assembly and the Councils and I have found that there is no practical difference between the practice of that party and the responsive co-operationists, whatever difference there might be in their professions.

On 13th February 1923, I was called to lead the movement for the reclamation of Malkana Rajputs by their several brotherhoods and later on in the removal of Untouchability work, I found, to my astonishment, that while Muhammadan leaders, doing Tabligh work openly, were allowed to guide the policy of the Congress and work as its accredited representatives, those engaged in the work of rescuing the Hindu Samaj from disintegration were tabooed and kept out of the Congress executive.

When Mahatma Gandhi came out of jail and Juhu became a place of pilgrimage of politicians, the father of the non-cooperation movement succumbed to the back-bitings of his Musalman favourites and anti-Hindu chelas professing Hinduism against my humble self and, avoiding all discussions with me personally, launched that tirade against the founder and the members of the Aryasamaj, which have done enough harm not only to the Aryasamaj and the Hindu community but to the Congress itself by alienating the minds of its staunchest servants. The Muslims got their scape-goats in the Aryasamajists and in the Bakri-Id of 1924 A.D. a Hindu mandir was desecrated and eight young and old Hindus were killed and scores, among whom were some women, mercilessly stabbed and otherwise wounded. Mahatma Gandhi came to Delhi and wanted both the communities to refer every thing to arbitration, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and myself induced the Hindus, although they were the aggrieved party, to agree to Mahatma's sole arbitration, but the Muslims prevaricated. Then came the diabolical doings of Muhammadans at Amethi, at Gulburga and finally at Kohat. The news was

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confirmed by Mahatma's most trusted chelas by personal enquiry on the spot, whole Urdu newspapers containing heart-rending details of the Kohat atrocities had been kept back from him by his Muslim host and surroundings. When finally Gandhiji called me and I read out all the details and at the same time exposed the Machinations of Muslim Maulanas and leaders against the Aryasamaj by reading from the late Maulana Abdul Bari's pamphlet, Mahatma Gandhi realized the enormity of his unconscious injustice to the Hindus and went on 21 days' fast. The doings of the famous Unity Conference of November 1924 are a historical document. It proved absolutely abortive. The very day that Gandhiji broke his fast came news of recrudescence of riots at Allahabad and Lucknow etc., and the Muslims of Delhi refused to accept Mahatma Gandhi as sole arbitrator. Mahatmaji acknowledged in private that negotiations fell through on account of Muslim refusal but never gave out his opinion to the public. Mahatmaji suddenly left for Calcutta on the arrest of several Congress leaders there, entered into a compromise with Das and Nehru on spinning franchise and got it confirmed at Belgaum by sheer threats to his no-changing followers. I went to Belgaum because I was specially invited by Mahatmaji to show to the world that we were on good terms with each other. I was not invited in the Subjects Committee. Mahatmaji wanted me to join him in opening Charkha Competition and to attend the open Session at the time of his presidential address. I obliged him to the letter in this.

I paid a visit to the Congress Session at Cawnpore, 1925, as a visitor but have had no this to do with its active work since the beginning of 1923 when not only Muhammadan religious propagandists but even some Hindu Congress workers spread false rumours about my having been bribed with some lakhs by the Government for setting Hindus and Muslims by the ears. A Muslim M.L.A. went so far as to try to ask a question in the

Assembly as to the amount which was paid to me for Shuddhi work, but the astute bureaucracy got the question disallowed in order to keep the matter in the dark. I specially request the leader of the Assembly to ask the permission of the Viceroy and give a distinct reply to that query of the Muslim member.

To conclude, I have all along been a common member of the Congress and have been advising and still advise every Hindu to join it as a member. It is not my fault that nobody has come to realize my annual subscription for the coming year. Beyond that I have no ambition to go. Whenever my help has been asked I have fully given it to the local office-holders. But I find that a few thousand members of the Congress throughout the country, to which number the one crore of members of June 1922 has dwindled, are trying their best not to allow any new members to enter the Congress fold if they are not certain of their supporting blindly the present clique in possession. My experience of the last six years and more has convinced me that it would be more useful to prepare single-minded, honest, God-fearing men for the future work of digesting real Swarajya when gained rather than waste my time after the mirage of so-called Swarajya which even Mahatma Gandhi (much less other leaders), is not able to define. But before I conclude I have to appeal to the Congressionalists who will assemble at Gauhati, to amend the Congress constitution so as to make it easy of every Nationalist to enter th Congress for serving the motherland to the best of his ability.

Shradhdhanada Sanyasi.



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No. 1.

In and out of the Congress.

Long before the first Congress met in the name of the Indian nation, and a few oligarchs passed certain resolutions in a drawing room in Bombay, I was a regular student of the Pioneer and the Lahore Tribune. I knew as much about the political movements in the country as a citizen was expected to know.

~~This first time I was in India in 1885 A.D.~~
I start a national political society was, probably, in September 1885 A.D., when Mr. Allan O'Hume made a tour through India for inducing educated Indians to join the new movement. Mr. Hume brought out a pamphlet with the title—"Star in the East"—and went round distributing it and interviewing prominent Indians with a view to enlisting their sympathy for the new movement. I was, then, in Lahore attending lectures for my final examination in law and had become a member of the Aryasamaj. Mr. Hume found that he was not trusted by the Indian gentlemen there. Some put him off with the excuse that they had no leisure, others promised to think over the matter. If any one of them was taken unawares and promised to join the movement he was sure to send an apologetic letter the next day with some protest to back out of his promise.

Mr. Hume was much put out at his failure to secure the sympathy of the Panjabis. Full of energy, he set up an inquiry and found that the mischief was done by an Aryasamajist M. A. who held a respectable post under the British Government. Failing to obtain materials for exposing the gentleman publicly, the impulsive Mr. Hume wrote to the President of the Lahore Aryasamaj protesting against an atheist "being treated as a

After that a few intellectuals from all parts of the country met under the presidency of the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and laid the foundation of a patriotic oligarchy under the title of "the Indian National Congress." I followed the proceedings of the Congress—as it was called—and its activities with great attention.

In 1888 A.D. I came in somewhat close contact with the National Movement. The session of the Congress was to be held in the last week of December 1888 at Allahabad. Sir Auckland Colvin was Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, of which Allahabad was the capital. Sir A. Colvin issued a secret circular prohibiting Government servants from joining the Congress and placed other obstacles in its way. Mr. Hume wrote a stringent letter of protest putting straight, inconvenient questions to the Governor who wrote a strong reply and sent it to the Press.

No sooner was the Lieutenant Governor's printed reply received by Mr. Hume at Simla than a counter-reply was prepared within 12 hours which appeared in pamphlet form covering some 80 printed pages. It was a crushing rejoinder and roused the Indian community to a sense of their duty. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's anti-Congress Muslim (miscalled Patriotic) League had already come into existence and was strengthening the hands of the bureaucracy in their divide and rule policy.

Both the Congress and the anti-Congress propaganda were pushed on in the Panjab. Kali Babu, then sub-Editor of the Lahore Tribune, was deputed to establish a Congress Committee at Jalandhar City where I was practising as a

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पुस्तकालय

गुरुकुल काँगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय, हरिद्वार

वर्ग संख्या.....^{RA} 294
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पुस्तक विवरण की तिथि नीचे अंकित है। इस तिथि सहित ३० वें दिन यह पुस्तक पुस्तकालय में वापस आ जानी चाहिए अन्यथा ५० पैसे प्रतिदिन के हिसाब से विलम्ब दण्ड लगेगा।



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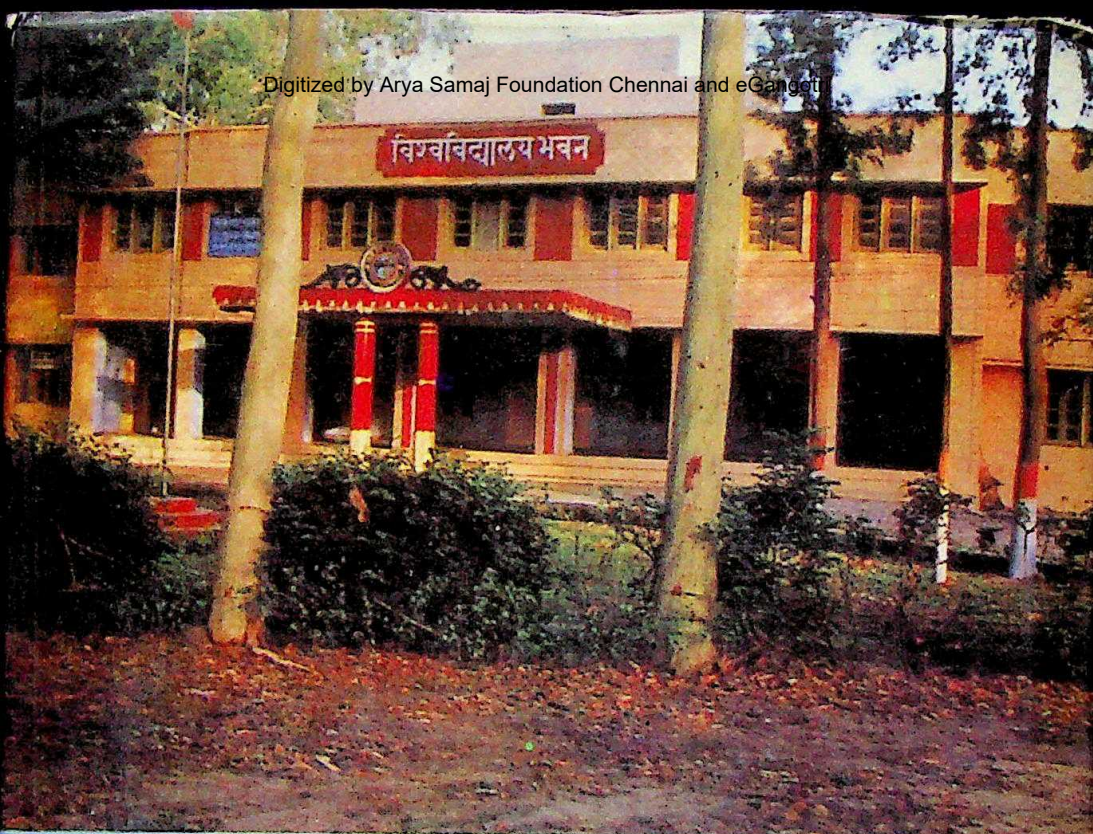
गुरुकुल

On 23rd December, 1926, Gandhiji wrote in his autobiography that Swamiji was not against Muslims, rather he was a staunch supporter of Hindu-Muslim Unity. He accepted that it was true that Swamiji had no faith in some certain Muslims who were extreme fanatics, but he had no ill-will even for them. He thought that some Hindus were made terrified by some Muslim fanatics, therefore, he wanted that Hindus should be brave and fearless to lead a respectful life. He praised Swamiji with the words "Sradhdhananda lived a hero and died a hero." The same opinions were of Pt. Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai and other contemporary leading national leaders.

He was a staunch advocate of the national languages but he brought-out his weekly paper "The Liberator" in English to convey his feelings and opinions to the non-Hindi speaking areas of South India. In his article "A confession of my Article of Faith", published in the first issue (1st April, 1926) of "The Liberator" he said,"... It is true that in private correspondence with Indians I never use English as a medium, but in my wandering through Madras Presidency during the last two years I found that if I wanted to reach the heart and the intellect of the Andhras, the Tamililians, the Malayalese and the Canarese I must utilize the English language as a vehicle of my-thoughts and ideas. ..."

His 27 editorials and comments on the national organisation cover the main issues of contemporary politics of the country. The themes of his editorials are Non-Co-operation Movement, Swadeshi Movement, Untouchability, The Activities of Hindu-Society, The medium of education, Trivandrum-Satyagraha, riots of Calcutta, Shuddhi Movement, DCE Society, The Communal aspects, The theory of rebirth and Karma, Adi-Hindu Achhut Sabha, Inconsistent with Hinduism, Mahatma Gandhi on Hinduism, The Spirit of Unity, Liberation from Alcohol, Civil Disobedience, The Curse of purdah system, Hindu Women's Widow marriage, Hindu-Muslim Unity, The rejuvenation of Hinduism etc.

He was the impresario of religious society, culture and education. He was a way-farer of "Kalyan Marg" shone by his visionary Guru Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati. He believed in the power of "Karma Tapasya". Simple life and Spiritual aspirations were the two essential objectives of his life mission.



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